



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

Edinburgh Research Explorer

Cultures of Mass Tourism: Doing the Mediterranean in the Age of Banal Mobilities.

Citation for published version:

Obrador, P., Crang, M & Travlou, P (ed.) 2009, Cultures of Mass Tourism: Doing the Mediterranean in the Age of Banal Mobilities. in *Cultures of Mass Tourism: Doing the Mediterranean in the Age of Banal Mobilities..* Ashgate Publishing.

Link:

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

Document Version:

Peer reviewed version

Published In:

Cultures of Mass Tourism: Doing the Mediterranean in the Age of Banal Mobilities.

Publisher Rights Statement:

© Obrador, P., Crang, M., & Travlou, P. (Ed.) (2009). Cultures of Mass Tourism: Doing the Mediterranean in the Age of Banal Mobilities. In Cultures of Mass Tourism: Doing the Mediterranean in the Age of Banal Mobilities.. Ashgate Publishing.

General rights

Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Edinburgh Research Explorer is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy

The University of Edinburgh has made every reasonable effort to ensure that Edinburgh Research Explorer content complies with UK legislation. If you believe that the public display of this file breaches copyright please contact openaccess@ed.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



CULTURES OF MASS TOURISM

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44

Proof Copy

New Directions in Tourism Analysis

Series Editor: Dimitri Ioannides, Missouri State University, USA

Although tourism is becoming increasingly popular as both a taught subject and an area for empirical investigation, the theoretical underpinnings of many approaches have tended to be eclectic and somewhat underdeveloped. However, recent developments indicate that the field of tourism studies is beginning to develop in a more theoretically informed manner, but this has not yet been matched by current publications.

The aim of this series is to fill this gap with high quality monographs or edited collections that seek to develop tourism analysis at both theoretical and substantive levels using approaches which are broadly derived from allied social science disciplines such as Sociology, Social Anthropology, Human and Social Geography, and Cultural Studies. As tourism studies covers a wide range of activities and sub fields, certain areas such as Hospitality Management and Business, which are already well provided for, would be excluded. The series will therefore fill a gap in the current overall pattern of publication.

Suggested themes to be covered by the series, either singly or in combination, include—consumption; cultural change; development; gender; globalisation; political economy; social theory; sustainability.

Also in the series

The Framed World
Tourism, Tourists and Photography
Edited by Mike Robinson and David Picard
ISBN 978-0-7546-7368-5

Brand New Ireland?
Tourism, Development and National Identity in the Irish Republic
Michael Clancy
ISBN 978-0-7546-7631-7


Cultural Tourism and Sustainable Local Development
Edited by Luigi Fusco Girard and Peter Nijkamp
ISBN 978-0-7546-7391-0

Crisis Management in the Tourist Industry
Beating the Odds?
Edited by Christof Pforr and Peter Hosie
ISBN 978-0-7546-7380-4

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12
- 13
- 14
- 15
- 16
- 17
- 18
- 19
- 20
- 21
- 22
- 23
- 24
- 25
- 26
- 27
- 28
- 29
- 30
- 31
- 32
- 33
- 34
- 35
- 36
- 37
- 38
- 39
- 40
- 41
- 42
- 43
- 44

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12
- 13
- 14
- 15
- 16
- 17
- 18
- 19
- 20
- 21
- 22
- 23
- 24
- 25
- 26
- 27
- 28
- 29
- 30
- 31
- 32
- 33
- 34
- 35
- 36
- 37
- 38
- 39
- 40
- 41
- 42
- 43
- 44

Crang.indb 3

1	© Pau Obrador Pons, Mike Crang and Penny Travlou 2009	1
2	All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval	2
3	system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying,	3
4	recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.	4
5		5
6	Pau Obrador Pons, Mike Crang and Penny Travlou have asserted their right under the Cop-	6
7	yright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the author of this work.	7
8		8
9	All reasonable effort has been made to seek permission from the copyright holders of the	9
10	images in this book. The publisher would be pleased to hear from any outstanding copyright	10
11	holders so that due acknowledgement can be made in future editions.	11
12	Published by	12
13	Ashgate Publishing Limited	13
14	Wey Court East	14
15	Union Road	15
16	Farnham	16
17	Surrey, GU9 7PT	17
18	England	18
19		19
20	www.ashgate.com	20
21	British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data	21
22		22
23		23
24	[to come]	24
25		25
26		26
27		27
28	Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data	28
29	Pons, Pau Obrador.	29
30	Cultures of mass tourism : doing the Mediterranean in the age of banal mobilities / by Pau	30
31	Obrador Pons, Mike Crang and Penny Travlou.	31
32	p. cm.	32
33	Includes index.	33
34	ISBN 978-0-7546-7213-5 (hardback : alk. paper) 1. Tourism--Mediterranean Region-	34
35	-Marketing. 2. Culture and tourism--Mediterranean Region. 3. Package tours--Mediterranean Region. 4. Mediterranean Region--Social conditions. 5. Mediterranean Region--	35
36	Economic conditions. I. Crang, Mike. II. Travlou, Penny. III. Title.	36
37	G155.M46P66 2009	37
38	306.4'819091822--dc22	38
39	ISBN 978-0-7546-7213-5	39
40	EISBN 978-0-7546-9776-3	40
41		41
42	 Mixed Sources	42
43	Product group from well-managed forests and other controlled sources	43
44	www.fsc.org Cert no. SA-COC-1565 © 1996 Forest Stewardship Council	44
	Printed and bound in Great Britain by MPG Books Group, UK	

Contents

1		1
2		2
3		3
4		4
5		5
6		6
7		7
8	<i>List of Figures and Table</i>	vii 8
9	<i>List of Authors</i>	ix 9
10		10
11	1 Introduction: Taking Mediterranean Tourists Seriously	1 11
12	<i>Pau Obrador-Pons, Mike Crang and Penny Travlou</i>	12
13		13
14	2 Morocco: Restaging Colonialism for the Masses	21 14
15	<i>Claudio Minca and Rachele Borghi</i>	15
16		16
17	3 Banal Tourism? Between Cosmopolitanism and Orientalism	53 17
18	<i>Michael Haldrup</i>	18
19		19
20	4 The Island That Was Not There: Producing Corelli's Island, Staging	20
21	Kefalonia	75 21
22	<i>Mike Crang and Penny Travlou</i>	22
23		23
24	5 The Mediterranean Pool: Cultivating Hospitality in the Coastal Hotel	91 24
25	<i>Pau Obrador Pons</i>	25
26		26
27	6 'De Veraneo en la Playa': Belonging and the Familiar in Mediterranean	27
28	Mass Tourism	111 28
29	<i>Javier Caletrio</i>	29
30		30
31	7 Hosts and Guests, Guests and Hosts: British Residential Tourism in the	31
32	Costa del Sol	129 32
33	<i>Karen O'Reilly</i>	33
34		34
35	8 Mobile Practice and Youth Tourism	143 35
36	<i>Dan Knox</i>	36
37		37
38	9 Corrupted Seas: the Mediterranean in the Age of Mass Mobility	157 38
39	<i>Pau Obrador-Pons, Mike Crang and Penny Travlou</i>	39
40		40
41		41
42	<i>Index</i>	42
43		43
44		44

Proof Copy

1		1
2		2
3		3
4		4
5		5
6		6
7	Tables	7
8		8
9	2.1 Water seller (garraba) in Jamaa el Fna, Marrakech (photo by Rachele	9
10	Borghi)	22 10
11	2.2 Water seller and a tourist chatting after the ritual photo-performance	11
12	(photo by Claudio Minca)	22 12
13	2.3 La Mamounia (photo by Rachele Borghi)	28 13
14	2.4 The Tea Ceremony	33 14
15	2.5 An 'orientalised' map of Morocco	34 15
16	2.6 European tourists enjoy a panoramic view from above of Fez	35 16
17	2.7 Jamaa el Fna at the sunset (photo by Claudio Minca)	40 17
18	2.8 A riad in Marrakech (photo by Rachele Borghi)	42 18
19	3.1 Keith and Lisa's lounge 1	58 19
20	3.2 Keith and Lisa's lounge 2	58 20
21	3.3 Guidebook with travel routes from their holiday	59 21
22	3.4 Ann and Pennie's lounge	59 22
23	3.5 Photo album with pictures from diving in the Red Sea	60 23
24	3.6 Heinz's travel career	63 24
25	3.7 Travel itineraries and artefacts	63 25
26	3.8 Home of Hanna and her family in Northern Jutland, Denmark	68 26
27	3.9 Second Home under construction, Hurghada, Egypt	68 27
28	3.10 Family visit to Egyptian friends, Cairo, Egypt	69 28
29	3.11 Susan's computer, webcam and photo diary	69 29
30	3.12 Family and souvenirs at display in Susan's home	70 30
31	5.1 Drinking game by the pool	99 31
32	5.2 A family posing for a picture with the entertainment team on the	32
33	last day of their holiday	100 33
34	5.3 Doing 'nothing' by the pool	105 34
35		35
36		36
37	Figures	37
38		38
39	6.1 Rate of ownership of second residence and number of beds in relation	39
40	with hotel beds	113 40
41		41
42		42
43		43
44		44

Proof Copy

1		1
2		2
3		3
4		4
5		5
6		6
7	Rachele Borghi is a research fellow at the University of Venice	7
8		8
9	Javier Caletrio is a research fellow at the Centre for Mobilities Research at	9
10	Lancaster University.	10
11		11
12	Mike Crang is a reader in human geography at the University of Durham, UK.	12
13		13
14	Michael Haldrup is associate professor in the Department of Geography and	14
15	International Development Studies, Roskilde University, Denmark	15
16		16
17	Claudio Minca is professor of Geography at Royal Holloway, the University	17
18	of London and visiting professor at the College of Tourism, Rikkyo University,	18
19	Tokyo.	19
20		20
21	Dan Knox is a senior lecturer in tourism at the Centre for Tourism, Consumer and	21
22	Food Studies, Liverpool John Moores Univeristy, UK.	22
23		23
24	Pau Obrador-Pons is a lecturer in tourism, Faculty of Business and Law,	24
25	University of Sunderland, UK.	25
26		26
27	Karen O'Reilly is a reader in Sociology at the University of Loughborough,	27
28	UK.	28
29		29
30	Penny Travlou is a research fellow at the OPENspace Research Centre, Edinburgh	30
31	College of Art/Herriot-Watt University, UK.	31
32		32
33		33
34		34
35		35
36		36
37		37
38		38
39		39
40		40
41		41
42		42
43		43
44		44

Proof Copy

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44

Chapter 1

Introduction: Taking Mediterranean
Tourists Seriously

Pau Obrador-Pons, Mike Crang and Penny Travlou

This book is about the emerging cultures of mass tourism. While the rise of mass tourism has been the subject of much attention, the focus has tended to be on the impact it has upon local peoples, local economies or local environments as well as on economic and managerial issues. This book instead wants to take the culture of mass tourism seriously, knowing that even putting it so sounds like an oxymoron to many. With more than 230 million international tourists a year, the Mediterranean is the largest tourist destination region in the world. To follow Löfgren (1999) the Mediterranean is now less united by Braudel's rhythms of olive, grain and wine cultivation, shared trade and Roman legacies than the fortnightly pulse of the package tour, the circulation of resort types and the shared culture of sun-seeking tourism. This book sets out to demonstrate that the economic importance of mass tourism in the Mediterranean is matched by its significance as cultural and aesthetic phenomena. As well as transforming the derelict economies of the Mediterranean, mass tourism is one of the most sensational cultural phenomena of our times and is a central feature of the contemporary everyday in Western Europe (Rojek 1993, Inglis 2000, Franklin and Crang 2001). It can no longer be considered as a discrete activity, contained in special locations and times, but paraphrasing Franklin it 'has become a metaphor for the way we lead our everyday lives in a consumer society' (2003: 5). Mass tourism has developed into a new cultural formation that mixes global, national and local influences. Most of the elements of this cultural formation, which have yet to be addressed, destabilizes a fixed and coherent identity of places. Mass Mediterranean tourism is rather creating a new space of related and refracted practices through reciprocally entwined, though not equal, cultures of work and tourism. It is these new practices and spaces that this collection brings together.

Mass Mediterranean tourism is a historically specific phenomenon that is generally associated with three different elements. First and foremost, it is associated with the democratization of leisure, the extension of tourism to all sectors of society. It is in this respect a 'quantitative notion' that refers to the 'proportion of the population participating in tourism or on the volume of tourist activity' (Bramwell 2004: 7). Secondly mass tourism is also associated with a particular mode of tourism production that emphasizes economies of scale. Mass tourism involves the industrialization of leisure, the translation of Fordist principles

1 of accumulation to tourism, including the large replication of standardized 1
 2 products, the reduction of cost and the promotion of mass consumption and the 2
 3 spatial and temporal concentrations. Cheap package holidays are the most visible 3
 4 manifestation of this mode of production, which is currently being replaced by 4
 5 more sophisticated versions combining economies of scope with economies of 5
 6 scale. Finally, mass tourism is associated with a particular tourist sensibility that 6
 7 emphasizes warm climate, coastal pleasures, freedom from regulated world, relax 7
 8 and a party atmosphere. Often defined in opposition to classical ideas of travel as 8
 9 sightseeing, mass tourism represents a different tourist experience that summarizes 9
 10 with the three 'S's: sun, sea and sand (and also sex and spirits). 10

11 These three elements come together for the first time in late nineteenth century 11
 12 in the coastal towns of Britain, notably Blackpool (Bennett 1983, Walton 2000). 12
 13 After the Second World War mass tourism internationalizes, establishing the 13
 14 Mediterranean as its main destination and its most remarkable manifestation. 14
 15 A number of factors made possible the emergence of mass tourism including 15
 16 innovations in transport, the consolidation of a welfare system, the increase in 16
 17 real income, the reorganization and rationalization of time and the improvement 17
 18 of international relations. Over the past 20 years or so mass tourism has embarked 18
 19 on a process of restructuration still ongoing that has profoundly reshaped the neat 19
 20 picture that emerged in the 1950s and 1960s (Bramwell, 2003, Aguiló 2005). 20
 21 The introduction of more flexible forms of accumulation in tourism has lead to 21
 22 the expansion of mass tourism beyond the beach, with a diversification of tourist 22
 23 experience though the industrialization of leisure as well as climatic and hedonistic 23
 24 pleasures remain a common denominator in the majority of tourism Mediterranean. 24
 25 In this context it would be a mistake to reduce mass tourism to beach tourism and 25
 26 indeed to ignore its relationship with everyday life in Northern Europe. 26

27 Mass tourist sites are some of the most iconic examples of western consumer 27
 28 societies; and yet the study of tourism is still dominated by policy led work, with 28
 29 a productivist bias that emphasizes the topics and values linked to processes of 29
 30 production. Issues related with the organization of tourist provision and its impact 30
 31 has systematically received priority over issues related with touristic consumption. 31
 32 Even when consumption is addressed it tends to be through the production of 32
 33 marketing materials, and the creation of landscapes for consumption, turning mass 33
 34 tourism into 'a logical extension of the general principle of industrial capitalism 34
 35 to the realm of leisure' (Böröcz in Koszar 1998: 325). The majority of literature 35
 36 on mass tourism and beach resort tourism, including the works of Bramwell 36
 37 (2004), Apostolopoulos et al. (2000) and Montanari and Williams (1995), adopts 37
 38 an economical and managerial perspective on resort development, growth and 38
 39 increasingly sustainability. Some of this works make reference to culture change, 39
 40 focusing mainly on the impacts of mass tourism on the host community. However 40
 41 studies of the culture of tourists are relatively uncommon and those of the culture of 41
 42 mass tourism even rarer. Simply taking the holdings of one of the editor's university 42
 43 catalogues, less than 10 percent of the more than 200 volumes on tourism were 43
 44 significantly focused around the tourists themselves, their experiences and what 44

1 they made of them. And of those, most were then picking out specific interesting 1
 2 niches of cultural tourists (such as backpackers or spiritual tourists). This seems to 2
 3 reflect the origins of much of the interesting work on cultures of tourism through 3
 4 anthropology. There the tradition of the study of isolated local community~~x~~ has 4
 5 often set up an uneasy relationship with tourism and tourists, where their presence 5
 6 is seen as a threat to local identity (and the credential of professional travellers 6
 7 and scholars) (Crick 1992, Risse 1998, Galani-Moutafi 2000, Crang 2009). The 7
 8 effect has been that cultural studies of tourism are freighted with problematic 8
 9 legacies of scholarship that saw 'host' communities as static small scale recipients 9
 10 of industrially produced flows of people. Local cultures are seen as eroded by a 10
 11 homogenous inauthentic, consumer culture. 11

12 The study of mass tourism is shaped through a series of striking paradoxes. 12
 13 For sure, mass tourism does promise pure entertainment and often flirts with the 13
 14 banal; and yet the conceptualization of tourism still relies on outdated notions 14
 15 of authenticity that establish social distinctions between good and bad tourism. 15
 16 Much critical academic work focuses upon breaking down those promises to 16
 17 reveal the often unpalatable social realities involved in their production. Inglis 17
 18 (2000: 5) notes 'The dreams are powerful and beautiful' and we should be careful 18
 19 of dismissing them and their role in people's lives, even if 'dedicated dreambusters 19
 20 in their big boots will, correctly, point out the horrors and boredom of actually 20
 21 existing tightly packaged trips, the mutual exploitation of tourist and native'. 21
 22 Mass tourism is thin on meaning and ideological narratives and very dense on 22
 23 physicality and sensuality; and yet scholars with an interest in cultures of tourism 23
 24 have chosen overwhelmingly to examine discourses, meaning and ideological 24
 25 structures at the cost of physicality. With the emergence of mass tourism, the 25
 26 Mediterranean has been re-integrated within a global set of cultural, social and 26
 27 economic networks; however the Mediterranean is still conceptualized as a 27
 28 bounded region that is subject of external forces producing impacts, a region that 28
 29 needs to be preserved from foreign invaders. This book responds to our discomfort 29
 30 with these shortcomings. Dominant perspectives on tourism have failed to provide 30
 31 an adequate basis for exploring the cultural dimension of mass tourism. 31

32 Despite its enormous significance mass tourism rarely makes an appearance in 32
 33 contemporary social sciences, which tends to marginalize this tourist phenomenon. 33
 34 With few exceptions, most notably Urry (1990) and Bauman (2000), tourism is a 34
 35 stranger to current theorizations on consumption, globalization, identity formation 35
 36 and the consolidation of new modes of biopolitical regulation. If used as an 36
 37 example, it is often of a shallow identity or subjectivity. In recent years there 37
 38 have appeared several high profile collections and volumes reflecting a surge 38
 39 in interest in cultures of tourism and their significance. The most significant of 39
 40 these are Urry and Sheller's *Tourism Mobilities* (2004), Desmond's (1999) work 40
 41 on *Staging Tourism*, the histories of vacationing by Löfgren (1999) and Inglis 41
 42 (2000), the collections by Crouch on Leisure and Tourism Geographies (1999), 42
 43 by Baerenholdt et al. on 'Performing Tourist Places' (2004) and by Minca and 43
 44 Oakes on the paradoxical desires and outcomes of tourism (2006). All these works 44

45

1 interrogate the practices and cultures of tourism as this volume do, but the beach 1
 2 and mass tourism form only a fairly limited aspect of the whole. Most of the works 2
 3 on cultures and practices of tourist still focuses on specialist forms of usually high 3
 4 status tourism, such as ecotourism, literary, and heritage and adventure tourism. 4
 5 There are, nevertheless several great works looking at 'living with' or 'coping with' 5
 6 mass tourism in the Mediterranean (Boissevain 1996, Waldren 1996, Abram et al. 6
 7 1997) and tourist representations (Selwyn 1996). There are also some interesting 7
 8 examples of work devoted to the sun and sand tourism and cultures of the beach 8
 9 (Lenček and Bosker 1998, Urbain 2003), the lure of the sea (Corbin 1994) and 9
 10 sunlight (Carter, 2007). Despite all these valuable contributions, the prevailing 10
 11 view is still that exemplified in the classic work of Turner and Ash (1975) which 11
 12 vilifies mass tourism as uncultured, uncaring and alienating. They describe 12
 13 mass tourists as 'the barbarians of the age of leisure, the holden hordes' and the 13
 14 Mediterranean as 'a pleasure periphery' (1975: 1). Confronted with the all too 14
 15 apparent constrictions and obvious exploitations of mass tourism, tourist studies 15
 16 generally downplays the banal, the un-exotic and, in particular, the pleasurable 16
 17 character of the tourist experience, reproducing the binary opposition between 17
 18 travel and tourism. It is these moments of actual existing pleasure that this work 18
 19 seeks to recover and to which it gives serious attention, balancing the horrors and 19
 20 boredom with the dreams and hopes, the exploitations with the liberties (Inglis 20
 21 2000: 5). 'It is important,' Löfgren reminds us, 'to see that standardized marketing 21
 22 does not have to standardize tourists. Studies of staging of tourist experience 22
 23 in mass tourism often reduce or overlook the uniqueness of all personal travel 23
 24 experience' (1999: 8). The lack of attention to the cultures of mass tourism, 24
 25 especially the dreamings and doings of mass tourists, is a major shortcoming in 25
 26 tourist studies. Dominant frameworks – heavily dependent on romantic ideas of 26
 27 travel – dismiss at the best of times the liveliness and creativity of mass tourism. 27
 28 More often than not they fail to unpack the phenomenon at all. 28

29 This edited collection contributes to the study of mass tourism with a series 29
 30 of ethnographical insights into some of the key sites of this tourist phenomenon, 30
 31 including the villa, the beach, the island and coastal hotel. In so doing, we want to 31
 32 extend the surge of interest in cultures and practices of tourism beyond specialist 32
 33 products, bringing to light a major component of contemporary consumer culture 33
 34 in Western Europe. The prime focus of this book is on the mundane and banal 34
 35 aspects of mass tourism. We argue for attentiveness to the diversity of practices in 35
 36 mass tourism and look at theorizing it as a way of being in the world, as materially 36
 37 constituted and constituting a social world, being alongside other people and a 37
 38 way of relating to places. The book has an unequivocal empirical orientation with 38
 39 all chapters reporting from recent and ongoing field research in the Mediterranean. 39
 40 However underlying the book there is also a deep rooted theoretical concern 40
 41 with developing new perspectives on mass tourism, new ways of looking at and 41
 42 thinking of this tourist phenomenon that break with the shortcomings of dominant 42
 43 perspectives. Equally we believe it is important to break with the tendency to isolate 43
 44 this tourist phenomenon from the main debates in the social sciences. The field 44

1 of mass tourism has an enormous potential to be a fertile ground for developing 1
 2 social theory, in particular that relating to contemporary consumer culture. In this 2
 3 introductory chapter we summarize some of the theoretical concerns underpinning 3
 4 this book. We identify three broad areas of inquiry relating with banality and 4
 5 biopolitics, the spatial and temporal dimension of mass tourism and its enactment. 5
 6 It is not our intention to set out a canonical perspective on mass tourism, but to 6
 7 identify some emerging research agendas. Our intention is to contribute to the 7
 8 renewal of a field in desperate need of fresh ideas. 8

9

10

11 **Banality and Biopolitics on the Beach** 11

12

13 Rather than adopting an economic or managerial perspective, this book sets out 13
 14 to demonstrate the cultural significance of mass tourism and the significance 14
 15 of mass tourism to mass culture. Such an approach encounters its most serious 15
 16 challenge in the perceived banality of mass tourism. We are confronted with a 16
 17 tourist phenomenon that draw in gritty vulgarity, playful crowds, a culture of 17
 18 indulgence, a series of corporeal pleasures and the blend of the ancient with 18
 19 the ironic and the kitsch among other things. Mass tourism offers a distinctive 19
 20 form of entertainment – more ‘vulgar’ and ‘corporeal’ – that clashes with the 20
 21 sophistication and detachment of middle class forms of travel, the values of which 21
 22 underpin dominant conceptualizations of tourism. The significance of the banal 22
 23 in tourism has been systematically overlooked by dominant perspectives which 23
 24 have privileged the exotic and the spectacular. There has been little interest and 24
 25 respect for the banal practices and pleasures of ordinary tourist. In downplaying 25
 26 the banal, dominant perspectives have reproduced a social hierarchy of travellers 26
 27 and tourists, thus sanctioning a set of ideological and social distinctions that is as 27
 28 much a stake in class distinction than an actual description of tourist practices. 28
 29 As Franklin and Crang point out ‘too often we risk treating the numerous and 29
 30 enumerated tourists as foreign species, “Turistas Vulgaris”, only found in herds, 30
 31 droves, swarms and flocks’ (2001: 8). Mass tourism might be a ‘depthless’ and 31
 32 a fluid phenomenon with few meanings and utopias attached but still is a site of 32
 33 relevant social and cultural practices that speak mainly to the body and the sentient. 33
 34 A cultural perspective on mass Mediterranean tourism demands reflection on these 34
 35 elements, including the ordinary experiences of the package tour, the proliferation 35
 36 of highly commodified environments devoted to leisure, the hedonism of night life 36
 37 in Eivissa and Falaraki and the corporeality of sunbathing, among others. 37

38 How to make sense of the banal in tourism is one of the main concerns of 38
 39 this book. Drawing on the Frankfurt School some scholars prefer to proclaim 39
 40 the insubstantiality of the banal spaces of late capitalism, emphasizing their 40
 41 impoverishing effects on social life. Others working within the theoretical 41
 42 framework of identity politics prefer the celebration of the banal as a site of political 42
 43 resistance, taking it as a symbolic expression of the more disadvantage sectors of 43
 44 society. As Meghan Morris noted twenty years ago ‘banality’ serves as a mythic 44

45

1 signifier that has all too easily served as a mask for the question of value, and of 1
 2 'discrimination' (Morris 1988: 27). Instead, the route this edited collection follows 2
 3 emphasizes the multiple moods and mutations of the practical, the ordinary and 3
 4 the everyday, that is the banal (Billig 1995). Tourism is part of a 'banal seduction' 4
 5 then, not some Baudrillardian 'fatal shore' of catastrophic cultural negation, but 5
 6 the ongoing enchantment yet circumscription of life. We start from Haldrup's, 6
 7 'banalizing tourism', where the time-space of tourism and the everyday permeate 7
 8 each other, but this book goes further in calling attention to the banal itself as 8
 9 being the ways tourist practices produce and reproduce social life and materialize 9
 10 structures of feeling and moral dilemmas. We suggest it is 'enabling' for tourist 10
 11 studies and not merely 'something that is left behind after it has been exorcized or 11
 12 redeemed in the movements of cultural analysis' (Seigworth 2000: 229). Tourism 12
 13 does not need to be recovered from banality, either by finding the exceptional 13
 14 within it nor by finding its normality exceptional. Banal desire is grounds for 14
 15 neither condemning tourism as beyond redemption nor redeeming some putative 15
 16 resistance – it is instead the medium of tourism. Thus paying attention to it is 16
 17 to heed what Michel de Certeau called 'the oceanic rumble of the ordinary' and 17
 18 where 18

19
 20 the task consists not in substituting a representation for the ordinary or covering 20
 21 it up with mere words, but in showing how it introduces itself into our techniques 21
 22 – in the way in which the sea flows back into pockets and crevices in beaches 22
 23 – and how it can reorganize the place from which discourse is produced (de 23
 24 Certeau 1984: 5) 24
 25 25

26 This collection thus faces the difficulty of much work on mass culture in avoiding 26
 27 ventriloquizing the ordinary, or creating some monolithic, undifferentiated everyday 27
 28 sense that is the same for everyone and applicable to no one, or romanticizing 28
 29 the popular to invest the study with glow of resistance. With different degrees of 29
 30 intensity the contributors to this book seek to address this by dislocating attention 30
 31 away from symbolic meanings and discourses to the actual everyday doings and 31
 32 enactments of tourists and their role in the production of social meanings and 32
 33 knowledge. Turning attention towards embodied social performances opens the 33
 34 possibility to acknowledge the significance of the banal in tourism and escape the 34
 35 conceptual straight-jacket that has prevented social sciences making sense of the 35
 36 mass tourism. 36


37 The route we follow involves recovering a sense of culture beyond traditional 37
 38 elitist or exotic forms to include the ordinary experiences of common people, but 38
 39 without setting those terms as defining each other. It also involves the stretching 39
 40 of culture beyond the rational and the visible to include the everyday invisible 40
 41 elements that make up social life, the lay and popular knowledge, the habits, skills 41
 42 and conventions as well as the unreflexive practices. Culture here is not a fixed, 42
 43 finished product but a historically specific formation that has to be continuously 43
 44 enacted. As Edensor (2001) explains, tourism is a mundane system of practice and 44

1 performance, a highly regulated and choreographed space as well as a realm of 1
 2 improvization and contestation. In developing a pragmatic sense of mass tourism, 2
 3 this approach is careful not to reproduce social distinctions between travel and 3
 4 tourism, seeking instead to ‘come to terms with the continual oscillation around 4
 5 the poles of traveller and tourist’ (Franklin and Crang 2001: 8). Rather than 5
 6 bringing together all sorts of travel within a single hierarchy, this approach seeks 6
 7 to reconstruct the heterogeneous histories and trajectories of tourism. An emphasis 7
 8 on the ordinary and the everyday requires a higher attention to the diversity of 8
 9 practices in tourism. 9

10 It would be wrong to assume – as many scholars implicitly do – the innocence 10
 11 and simplicity of banal tourist practices. As Billig explains, ‘banal does not mean 11
 12 benign’ (1995: 4). Still marked with meaning, banal forms of tourism have proved 12
 13 to be an effective vehicle for the (re)production of social and cultural formations, 13
 14 making them look normal and ordinary while placing them out of public scrutiny. 14
 15 Mediterranean tourism has played an important geopolitical and ideological role 15
 16 (Pack 2006); however the political and cultural significance of mass tourism is 16
 17 first and foremost at the level of the body and the sentient. The Mediterranean is a 17
 18 major cultural laboratory for the production of bodies, feelings and subjectivities 18
 19 in Western Europe. The most critical role mass tourism has played relates the 19
 20 formation of postmodern consumer sensibilities. The notion of bio-politics 20
 21 (Foucault 1978) provides a useful framework to re-position mass tourism in 21
 22 relation to contemporary cultural processes. Mass tourism is a prominent example 22
 23 of a new form of biopolitical circulation that consolidates in Western Europe after 23
 24 the Second World War with the emergence of post-industrial globalized economies 24
 25 increasingly reliant on leisure and consumption (Vilarós 2005). Drawing on 25
 26 Foucault, bio-politics is understood here as the ‘Extensive complex of discourses, 26
 27 practices and institutions tasked with the care, regulation, and improvement of 27
 28 individual bodies and of the collective body of national population’ (Vasudevan, 28
 29 2006: 800). This new form of bio-political circulation is more interested in the 29
 30 production of life than the power over life. Mass tourism emerges in a transitional 30
 31 context from primary systems of power based on technologies of repression towards 31
 32 a much more vitalist and creative political systems which pursue the incorporation 32
 33 of citizens within a new order of hedonism and consumption. Mass tourism points 33
 34 to the importance of play (Huizinga 1998), the carnivalesque and grotesque 34
 35 (Bakhtin 1984) in contemporary culture. If the celebration of *homo ludens* is one 35
 36 part of a globalized hedonism, then mass tourism has also long played upon the 36
 37 body beautiful and the bodily grotesque in such things as the British tradition of 37
 38 sexualized yet ironic seaside postcards (Löfgren 1985). 38

39 The carnivalesque also points us to the phenomena of the crowd, the golden 39
 40 horde of Turner and Ash – whose numerousness and density challenges notions 40
 41 of romantic contemplation. Le Bon (1895/2002) figured the twentieth century 41
 42 as the age of the crowd, and one where the crowd were the barbarians breaking 42
 43 down social orders. A more vitalist approach renews our attention to the sociality 43
 44 of crowds, as more than individual actors but ones where writers like Gabriel 44

45

1 Tarde emphasized the plastic qualities of individuation and the trans-subjective 1
 2 dimensions of experience. The crowd for him is a mix of spontaneity and 2
 3 somnambulism. This is a tradition that has been eclipsed by later sociological 3
 4 studies that have tended to focus upon the aggregation of individuals rather than 4
 5 the emergent properties of spontaneous generation of imitation (Borch 2006). This 5
 6 surely gives us a sense of the creative regulation of the sociality of a destination 6
 7 like Benidorm. Here we might see the emergence of Bacchanalian partying in 'a 7
 8 space that has become the most effective substitute for the time of the breaking-up 8
 9 party, that countryside festival that industrialization eliminated from the calendar 9
 10 of Europeans' (MVRDV 2000: 105). Not only are the beaches densely populated 10
 11 but tourists spend almost as long wandering the streets (up 3.25 hrs per day in 11
 12 town, 3.5 hrs on the beach) so that 'tourists surveyed in Benidorm are notable for 12
 13 their passion for the streets... incited by its charms, which they find unending, 13
 14 moved by surprise, encouraged by the possibility of meeting and recognizing and 14
 15 urged on by the fleeting nature of their stays' (MVRDV 2000: 112). This is a 15
 16 biopolitics of density and proximity producing an affective charge. In short we 16
 17 need to take seriously the emotional productivity of the  in mass tourism and 17
 18 to actually think about how a 'mass' functions. 18

19 Although very few scholars with an interest in tourism turn to the concept of 19
 20 bio-politics, a concern for the production and regulation of bodies, affects and 20
 21 subjectivities is major theme in cultural accounts of Mediterranean tourism. In a 21
 22 ground-breaking history of the holidays, Inglis (2000) emphasizes the role of the 22
 23 Mediterranean in the creation of new kind of feelings. Carter's (2007) original 23
 24 cultural account of sunlight also identifies the Mediterranean as one of the main 24
 25 stages in the constitution of the contemporary, sometimes problematic relationship 25
 26 with the sun. Similar logics can be found in the history of vacationing of Löfgren 26
 27 (1999), the work of Urbain (2003) on the beach, or in MVRDV's analysis of 27
 28 the new urban landscapes emerging in the Iberian coast, where they see a linear 28
 29 city ringing Iberia with a 'wall of banality' (MVRDV 2000: 75). Despite their 29
 30 differences, all of these accounts point to the significance of banal spaces and 30
 31 practices of mass tourism in the production of new postmodern forms of life. The 31
 32 contributors to this book also share the belief that mass *banal* tourism is not a 32
 33 social and cultural desert. The banal is central to most chapters of the book: Minca 33
 34 and Borghi explore the translation of a new Orientalist images of Moroccan into 34
 35 a series of mundane tourist practices and landscape aesthetics; Haldrup looks 35
 36 at the significance of tourism as a banal form of experiencing orientalism and 36
 37 cosmopolitanism; Obrador-Pons develops insights into the mundane ways spaces 37
 38 of hospitality are inhabited and Caletrio emphasizes the quotidian and domestic 38
 39 rituals of tourist life in Costa Blanca. Ultimately this book emphasize the need of 39
 40 a more creative approach to mass tourism that neither celebrates nor dismisses 40
 41 the '*banal*', the '*corporeal*' and the '*vulgar*'; an approach that focuses on the 41
 42 productive effects of mass tourism rather than on its ideological underpinnings. 42
 43 It is an approach that sees tourism as an abstract machine rather than an abstract 43
 44 rationality (Guattari 1992). A machine that combines economic, technological, 44

1 symbolic, emotive and bodily registers to produce and regulate spaces, affects and
2 practices.

5 **The Time and Space of Mass Tourism**

7 If mass tourism is seen as being tainted by the banal then it is in turn seen as
8 degrading and defiling the places with which it comes into contact. This vision is
9 neatly summed up by Guy Debord in his Society of the Spectacle

11 Capitalist production has unified space, which is no longer bounded by external
12 societies. This unification is at the same time an extensive and intensive process
13 of *banalization*. The accumulation of commodities produced in mass for the
14 abstract space of the market, which ~~had~~ ... destroy the autonomy and quality of
15 places. (Debord 1973: 165)

17 Here then the banal becomes linked with the erosion of authentic place, and
18 tourism becomes the ~~little~~ personification of commodification:

20 Tourism, human circulation considered as consumption, a by-product of the
21 circulation of commodities, is fundamentally nothing more than the leisure of
22 going to see what has become banal. The economic organization of visits to
23 different places is already in itself the guarantee of their equivalence. The same
24 modernization that removed time from the voyage also removed from it the
25 reality of space. (Debord 1973: 168)

27 This powerful denunciation looks at tourism as producing a form of space but an
28 abstract one of equivalences. Mass tourism is often offered as the example par
29 excellence of what Augé (1995) calls non-place, with its lack of local references
30 in resorts, beyond the usual suspects of sangria and paella, or ouzo and moussaka.
31 Debord's hyperbolic vision has echoes in many tourism studies that rely not only
32 on the problematic sense of banality but also take for granted an organic notion
33 of authentic place. Organicist perspectives on place draw on a nostalgic vision
34 of a stable and harmonious rural locale, in which there is a coincidence between
35 place and community and between dwelling and sedentarism. What gives a place
36 its specificity and identity is endurance, self-containment and inward-looking
37 history. In this approach proximity and isolation make places whereas mobility
38 and diversity threatens their existence. Stable rural communities based on face-
39 to-face relationships tend to be identified as genuine and authentic whereas the
40 urban, mobile and fragmentary life of modernity tends to be seen as alienating and
41 destructive. This opposition between organic communities and the world of flows
42 of globalization and tourism has been reworked through a number of binaries such
43 as local versus global, authenticity versus commodification, traditional versus
44 modernity and indeed cultural versus economic (Crang 2006: 55). These binary

1 oppositions inevitably feed back into policy analysis, with a common distinction 1
 2 between good and bad tourism, the latter of course is always mass tourism. The 2
 3 tendency to define tourist places as bounded and enclosed has been denounced in 3
 4 recent years (Crang 2006, Minca and Oakes 2006). As Crang points out tourist 4
 5 studies 'produce an oddly fixed version of the world for a mobile and fluid process' 5
 6 (2006: 48). The main problem with linking authentic dwelling and fixity is that 6
 7 there is no possibility of authenticity and dwelling in the hypermobile spaces of 7
 8 mass tourism, which instead become the repository of all sorts of spatial illnesses 8
 9 including commodification, displacement and alienation. 9

10 We believe an ontological shift in the study of mass tourism is necessary that 10
 11 takes into account the different mobilities underpinning this tourist phenomenon. 11
 12 If we are to demonstrate the cultural significance of mass tourism, we need to 12
 13 mobilize both tourists and places in our analysis, breaking with theoretical 13
 14 perspectives that deny the possibility of dwelling-in-mobilities, that is, that deny 14
 15 the place making capacity of fluid social formations such as mass tourism. We are 15
 16 not suggesting abandoning place in favour of movement but reconceptualizing 16
 17 place so that it incorporates the possibility of movement and displacement rather 17
 18 than seeing them as antithetical terms. Tourism places are constituted through 18
 19 many forms of mobilizations and demobilizations among people (both tourists, 19
 20 workers and 'locals'), images and things, at different scales and speeds, where 20
 21 some mobilities are predicated on restricting others, and senses of relative fixity 21
 22 and transience, and some people and things re remobilized in new ways (Sheller 22
 23 2004: 15, Crang 2009). In other words, these more or less transient phenomena 23
 24 come together in conjunctions that create the tourist landscape. The study of mass 24
 25 tourism needs to embrace a relational approach to place (Massey 2005). Places 25
 26 are not fixed and stable entities but they are provisional and always in the process 26
 27 of construction. Their shape depends on the performances and interactions of the 27
 28 people that inhabit them and the networks that sustain them. As Urry and Sheller 28
 29 point out 'Places are about relationships, about the placing of peoples, materials, 29
 30 images and the systems of difference they perform' (2004: 6). The extraordinary 30
 31 fluidity of contemporary mass tourism is generative of unique spatialities (and 31
 32 temporalities), which are central to the constitution of postmodern subjectivities. 32

33 Mass tourism is no longer confined simply to the spatiality of the resort nor 33
 34 to the rhythms of the fortnight vacation, in either its operations or its effects. 34
 35 Even exceptional tourist locales such as Magaluf and Benidorm are shot through 35
 36 with banal connections to the rest of life. Multiple unrelated geographies and 36
 37 temporalities intervene in the constitution of this tourist phenomenon, in a 37
 38 continuous game of circulation and emplacement, of deterritorialization and re- 38
 39 territorialization. Mass tourism may come to light in the beaches of Benidorm, but 39
 40 it is already present in the cold dark winter days of the industrial cities of Germany 40
 41 and the United Kingdom to which it will return when the summer is over in the 41
 42 form of postcards or Ibiza Mix compilations of techno music. It is precisely this 42
 43 capacity of going back and forth and passing through and dwelling in-between 43
 44 that confers uniqueness to the objects and spaces of mass tourism. Paraphrasing 44

1 Crang, mass tourism ‘aims to produce [...] a sense of being somewhere different 1
 2 and specific, but it does so through a number of constitutive absences’ (2006: 63). 2
 3 We need to destabilize our objects of study from the destination and resort, that 3
 4 comprise so much tourism analysis. Being a tourist is not a solid and permanent 4
 5 state of mind, but a temporary subjectivity that is fragile and elusive. It is a 5
 6 rhythmical phenomenon that appears and disappears. In the summer months the 6
 7 Mediterranean beaches may be full of bodies but a few months later there are 7
 8 only ghostly reminders of them – traces of bodies on beaches and of beaches on 8
 9 bodies. Very few pieces of work have been able to capture this sense of dislocation 9
 10 and fluidity. Moreover highlighting the fluid nature of doing tourism destabilizes 10
 11 the tired opposition of mass tourist and niche tourist, as cultural tourists use mass 11
 12 facilities, as weekend breaks become commonplace over greater distance, when 12
 13 tourists become residents or locals become returning émigrés. These ambiguities 13
 14 are highlighted in the work of Karen O’Reilly on the Costa del Sol (2000) which 14
 15 she develops in this book (Chapter 7). Michael Haldrup in Chapter 3 develops 15
 16 a similar strategy, that dislocates the objects of study. This book does not look 16
 17 then at the impact of tourist globalization on local cultures but the emergence of 17
 18 new transnational cultures which involve different levels of presence and absence, 18
 19 local and global relations for all. 19

20 As well as rescaling tourism, taking into account the different mobilities 20
 21 and displacements that constitute it, it is also necessary to situate this tourist 21
 22 phenomenon within specific historical and social contexts. It is commonly believed 22
 23 that mass tourism is an external phenomena imposed by the forces of globalization 23
 24 that bares no relation with the identity of the Mediterranean, a manifestation of the 24
 25 economic and social dependency of the south in relation to the north. We would 25
 26 like to move away from that. Blaming the dark (and foreign) forces of capitalism 26
 27 for the series of disasters associated with mass tourism is too easy and omits to 27
 28 think about the specific role and agencies within the Mediterranean that helped 28
 29 shape tourist development. It is necessary to develop historical and sociological 29
 30 accounts that explore the actual workings of mass tourism so that we can get a 30
 31 sense of the diversity and multiplicity of this tourist phenomenon. 31

32 In recent years a number of monographs have appeared, although not always 32
 33 in English-language, that unpack the varying historical and geographical contexts 33
 34 for mass tourism. While often responding to local interests, these lines of research 34
 35 have the potential to shed light on the workings of mass tourism more generally. 35
 36 For instance the specifics of the Balearic Islands are explored in a series of works 36
 37 by Joan-Carles Cirer on Eivissa and Joan Amer on Mallorca, both in Catalan, 37
 38 which add to an existing literature that also includes the edited collection of La 38
 39 Caixa Foundation (2000) and the work of Rozenberg (1990). Instead of presenting 39
 40 tourism as an immutable, extra-historical development imported from the north, 40
 41 these accounts show mass tourism as a contested field, the shape of which is always 41
 42 provisional and constantly re-negotiated. While taking different perspectives, 42
 43 readings of these monographs we get a sense that mass tourism is less homogeneous 43
 44 and straight forward than we thought. We also get a sense mass tourism is not so 44
 45

1 much an example of cultural and social dependency as the Mediterranean route to 1
 2 Modernity. We hope that comparative histories as well as transnational accounts 2
 3 can emerge that look beyond case studies to follow the different links, routes and 3
 4 flows of mass tourism. 4

5 5
 6 6

7 **Doing the Med, Imagining the Med** 7

8 8
 9 If mass tourism produces times, spaces and bodies it also produces knowledge 9

10 – though not of the kind of knowledge generally recognized in academic accounts. 10

11 Tourism is now one of the common frames for seeing and sensing the world with 11

12 its own toolkit of technologies, techniques and aesthetic sensibilities for accessing 12

13 the world and positioning ourselves in it (Franklin and Crang 2001: 8). Mass 13

14 tourism is a major medium through which millions of Europeans have been able 14

15 to know, experience and imagine the vast and fluid space of the Mediterranean. 15

16 Chapters in this volume thus look at how mass tourism is framing Mediterranean 16

17 space, by creating sacralized sites, by scripting places with different and often 17

18 conflicting cultural narratives, re-ordering and reinterpreting a region divided 18

19 through political and religious lines. Many of these framings draw upon discourses 19

20 orientalism, which as Minca, Borghi and Haldrup show later in the book still 20

21 subtend tourist practices and expectations of places such as Egypt and Morocco. 21

22 The Mediterranean is often located and framed at the edge of Europe and if not 22

23 part of the exotic orient at least half way to it. There is however no single tourist 23

24 framing of the Mediterranean. Different *vacationscapes*, as Löfgren (1999) calls 24

25 them, coexist, each of them with its own collective images, fantasies and everyday 25

26 practices and routines, framing and scripting the Mediterranean differently, as a 26

27 place to encounter civilization and as a place to get away from civilization. The 27

28 differential scripts and imaginaries, freighted with historical legacies, that sustain 28

29 new power relations and define place identities are not simply homogenized in 29

30 mass tourism. 30

31 As well as a way of accessing the world, mass tourism is a way of producing 31

32 meaning about the self. The majority of tourists go to the Mediterranean in 32

33 search of a sunny place near the sea to relax and get away from it all. Not to find 33

34 themselves in the popular sense, but certainly to produce a tourist subject that is 34

35 transformed into a relaxed and liberated agent, and indeed to experience tourism as 35

36 the demands to relax and enjoy. In focusing on the processes of becoming tourists, 36

37 this book is moving away from individualist and instrumentalist conceptualization 37

38 of subjectivity. What is important for us it is not to understand the tourist subject 38

39 but rather the always-relation practices of subjectification (Thrift 1997). Human 39

40 agency is a relational effect generated by a decentred network of heterogeneous, 40

41 interacting components. The chapters of this book look at the Mediterranean 41

42 as a space for and tourism as a technology of the transient re-definition and 42

43 multiplication of the self. The most extreme cases of transformation are linked to 43

44 party destinations such as Eivissa and Falaraky, where people travel to take part in 44

1 round the clock dance parties and loose themselves in the alcohol, the music and 1
 2 the drugs. Dan Knox in Chapter 8 develops insights into the cases of Faliraki in 2
 3 Greece and Ayia Napa in Cyprus. In these two cases the Mediterranean emerges 3
 4 as a site where tourists can explore the limits of hedonism and experiment with 4
 5 novel ways of transformation of the self and the body. Nevertheless cases like 5
 6 these are rather exceptional, the continuous de-composition and re-composition 6
 7 of the self that characterize mass tourism is more often modest and mundane. 7
 8 For many tourists, coastal holidays are a travel-inward to the world of the family 8
 9 as much as a voyage away. Being together and reinforcing family bonds are the 9
 10 basic ambitions of many Mediterranean holidays – an arena for ‘doing family’ 10
 11 that both demands and produces a variety of familial performances. In this case 11
 12 the Mediterranean emerges as ‘theatre of life’ in which tourists can cultivate new 12
 13 aspects of their familial and personal identities. Performing a united family and 13
 14 becoming a child again are some of the pleasures and pressures of mass tourism. 14
 15 The significance of the family is evident in tourist photography, which tend to 15
 16 evoke a happy, stable and united family (Haldrup and Larsen 2003, Crang 1999). 16
 17 In looking at the production of knowledge in mass tourism, it is not our 17
 18 intention to make yet another study of the tourist representations, but to develop 18
 19 insights into the tourist process of signification. A sense of mass tourism as a 19
 20 practice is therefore central to this book. This collection develops approaches to 20
 21 mass tourism which are sensitive to social practices and embodied performances. 21
 22 We are interested in the doing of the Mediterranean as much as in its imagining. 22
 23 Mass tourism takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday 23
 24 routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, practical skills, collective 24
 25 dreams and sensuous dispositions. It is a social accomplishment, which has to be 25
 26 learned practiced and developed, which enrolls a variety of material elements in 26
 27 various places (from pre-holiday tanning parlours, to shopping trips to rituals of 27
 28 beach behaviour). In developing a sense of mass tourism as open practice we are 28
 29 not proposing the elimination of representations, meanings or any sort of symbolic 29
 30 activity from the study of mass tourism, but their integration within a single world, 30
 31 which is both open and pragmatic. There is a need to develop a broader scope of 31
 32 mass tourism that integrates practices and fantasies, objects and dreams, moving 32
 33 simultaneously in a material and utopia terrain. As Crang points out, ‘it is not 33
 34 about what representations *show* so much as what they *do*’ (2006: 48). Even in 34
 35 those environments surrounded by the fleeting, subjects are actively engaging 35
 36 with the world in a creative and productive manner. Reframing mass tourism as 36
 37 creative, embodied and performative, this collection takes on the challenge of 37
 38 reintroducing a sense of sensuality and enjoyment to the costal resort, thus re- 38
 39 enlivening a set of tourist geographies which are often left bare by the rush to 39
 40 produce theoretical order and economic diagnoses. This book explores a number 40
 41 of articulations of practice and subjectivity tied to mass tourism, including those 41
 42 related with photography, the coastal hotel and nightlife. It illustrate how practices 42
 43 of tourism bleed back into ‘everyday life’, and how time in the Mediterranean 43
 44 relates to technologies of the self, imaginations and cultural understandings. 44

45

1 The heterogeneous practices of tourism are made possible by complex 1
 2 materialities through many networks, connections and disconnections. Tourist 2
 3 practices and subjectivities are the product of complex interactions of human and 3
 4 non-human agencies. Tourists are integrated in assemblages, of things, technologies 4
 5 and places. There are multiple interdependences between mass tourism, architecture 5
 6 and different technologies unfolded in our lives, including technologies of 6
 7 representations. Chapters will explore these complex interdependencies, thus 7
 8 demonstrating how tourists are constantly attending the material world, looking 8
 9 using, buying and even making things with their hands. 9

10

10

11

11

12 **Outline of the Book**

12

13

13

14 This edited collection offers a series of insights into some of the key sites of mass 14
 15 Mediterranean tourism. It contains nine chapters covering Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, 15
 16 Cyprus, Greece and Spain as well as the intersection between northern Europe and 16
 17 the Mediterranean. The book is organized thematically as well as geographically. 17
 18 The early chapters focus on the southern shore, bringing in the colonial and exotic 18
 19 legacies underpinning Mediterranean tourism. The later chapters are concerned 19
 20 with the more hedonistic forms of mass tourism which are predominant in the 20
 21 northern shore. The intersection of the material with the representational and 21
 22 the performative is a major concern in all the contributions. However the early 22
 23 chapters place more emphasis on the complex visualizations and imaginary of 23
 24 the Mediterranean, whereas the later chapters switch the focus to social practices 24
 25 and embodied performances. All chapters report from recent and ongoing field 25
 26 research in the Mediterranean offering up to the minute material and are engaged 26
 27 with the critical interpretation of tourism. The book starts with an introductory 27
 28 chapter that makes a critical review of social and geographies research on mass 28
 29 Mediterranean tourism, identifying neglected areas of inquiry as well as emerging 29
 30 research agenda. 30

31 The first two chapters of the book reflect on the more 'cultural' and 'exotic' 31
 32 dimension of Mediterranean tourism. In Chapter 2 Minca and Borghi look at the 32
 33 new forms of mass cultural tourism that are rapidly transforming Morocco into 33
 34 a key cultural destination in the Mediterranean. The cultural shift of Moroccan 34
 35 tourism is based on the re-staging of the colonial for the masses and the promotion 35
 36 of Morocco as a secure and easy-to-reach exoticism. The process is part of a 36
 37 strategic vision of rapid growth that proposes the rewriting of Morocco imaginary 37
 38 through an orientalist eye, refashioning the tourism geographies inaugurated by the 38
 39 colonial French. Minca and Borghi focus on the tourist colonization of Marrakech 39
 40 Medina. They unpack the translation of its orientalist image into a new landscape 40
 41 aesthetics and a series of mundane practices. By highlighting the distance between 41
 42 the exotic aura of tourism promotion and the banality of many tourism practices, 42
 43 the chapter deflects usual criticism aimed at mass cultural tourism for its reliance 43
 44 on false and static tropes. When translating orientalist discourses into mundane 44

1 practices, stereotyped representations and performances of colonial aesthetics are 1
2 challenged and even disrupted. 2

3 The ambivalence between cosmopolitanism and orientalism in contemporary 3
4 tourism is the main theme of Michael Haldrup's Chapter 3. The chapter examines 4
5 the significance of tourism as a mundane form of experience of the global and 5
6 the other, drawing on ethnographic research on Danish tourists visiting Egypt. 6
7 Haldrup emphasizes the importance of mundane banalities for the study of tourist 7
8 performances. Bringing together the exotic and the familiar, the chapter explores 8
9 the multiple ways tourist performances feed into everyday life of people. Instead 9
10 of 'banalizing' tourism, Haldrup calls attention to the banal ways tourist practices 10
11 and experiences implicated in emergence of contemporary cultures of banal 11
12 cosmopolitanism and orientalism. The chapter also emphasizes the need to trace 12
13 out the routes that connect the context of home and away. Tourism is a culture 13
14 of circulation that cannot be easily contained and localized. By discriminating 14
15 between three different modes of banal cosmopolitanism Haldrup points towards 15
16 the significance of less reflexive and more embodied responses to the penetration 16
17 of everyday life by global mobilities. 17

18 The following chapter, which takes us to the Greek Island of Kefalonia, the 18
19 setting of the book and film of *Captain Corelli's Mandolin*, develops a case 19
20 study of middlebrow popular tourism in the Mediterranean. Crang and Travlou's 20
21 Chapter 4 unpack the production and enactment of tourist imaginary in the island, 21
22 drawing attention the intersection between tourism, film and literature. The 22
23 chapter explores how the film and the book have refigured the tourist image of the 23
24 island by replaying the myth of the Edenic Beach as well as ongoing discourses 24
25 of Greekness and Mediterraneanness. The movie and book of *Captain Corelli* 25
26 wrap the island in a romantic imaginary, which is part of the currency through 26
27 which the tourist appeal of the island is constructed over and against the implied 27
28 carnivalesque hedonism of other destinations. The chapter also explores how this 28
29 image is played out in practices of tourist consumption on different beaches. In 29
30 making such connections between tourist images and practices, the absences are 30
31 as revealing as the presences. Captain Corelli can hardly be missed and yet it is 31
32 also curiously hard to actually find it. Captain Corelli is a phantasm in the island. 32
33 Its substantiality is diffuse and yet undeniably present. 33

34 Chapter 5 is the first to reflect on 'sun, sea and sand' forms of mass tourism. 34
35 In this chapter Pau Obrador examines the coastal hotel, one of the most basic 35
36 institutions of mass tourism in the Mediterranean. The chapter reflects on the 36
37 nature of social relations in the highly commodified and fleeting environments of 37
38 mass tourism drawing attention to the everyday relations and practices through 38
39 which this space is inhabited by tourists. Obrador considers the coastal hotel in 39
40 terms of hospitality and affect, opening up mass tourism to new ways of thinking 40
41 the social that are less hostile to this tourist phenomenon. An ethnographic account 41
42 of two hotel pools in the island of Menorca explores the various elements that 42
43 make up the social fabric of the pool including conviviality, domesticity, hostility 43
44 and the gaze. The discussion brings to the fore the complexity and liveliness of the 44

45

1 social life of the pool. By the pool light touch forms of sociality coexist with more 1
2 enduring social forms that combine an ideological and affectual dimension. 2

3 The cultural geographies of 'sun sea and sand' in the Mediterranean are highly 3
4 diverse incorporating a myriad of configurations, some of which remain largely 4
5 unacknowledged. In Chapter 6, Javier Caletrio examines one of the alternative 5
6 geographies of mass tourism and the beach that coexist along with the more 6
7 visible landscapes of the package tour. This alternative tourist geography of the 7
8 Mediterranean is a largely domestic phenomenon that centres on the figure of 8
9 *veraneante* translating as 'those who regularly spend the holiday there'. Focusing 9
10 on the Costa Blanca in Spain, the chapter highlights the significance of the familiar 10
11 in the creation of the Mediterranean landscape. It is a form of vacationing that 11
12 centres on the re-encounter of place and people and where meeting significant 12
13 others is critical. It is an enduring tourism geography punctuated by quotidian 13
14 rituals, ways of encountering that have to be learned. The chapter also emphasizes 14
15 the embodied and material ways in which geographies and landscapes are 15
16 mobilized. For the *veraneante* the sense of familiarity and intimacy stems from a 16
17 practical engagement with the sensualities of the beach and the seaside in company 17
18 of others. The beach of the *veraneante* is a landscape of memory, heavy with time 18
19 that speaks of an investment in a sense of place. 19

20 The extraordinary development of mass tourism in places like the Costa del 20
21 Sol has led to new touristic mobilities with international visitors also becoming 21
22 more sedentary. Residential tourism, which Karen O'Reilly examines in Chapter 22
23 7, is one of the most significant of them. A series of contradictions characterize 23
24 these transnational communities settling in the Costa del Sol. Residential tourism 24
25 entails a subtle and continuous balancing act between residence and tourism, home 25
26 and away, utopia and reality, which has to be managed, practiced and performed 26
27 on a daily basis, specially through the act of being both host and guest. O'Reilly 27
28 regards these contradictions as essential to the lives of residential tourists enabling 28
29 them to live their lives as a permanent escape. Their lifestyle works as long as 29
30 participants remain in but not in, home but no home neither here nor there. O'Reilly 30
31 incorporates materiality in her cultural account of the phenomenon examining the 31
32 material cultures that are woven into the everyday life of British residents in Spain 32
33 and their co-creation through transformation and performance. 33

34 Chapter 8 develops insights into the more hedonistic side of mass tourism. 34
35 Drawing on participant observation in the resorts of Faliraki in Greece and Ayia 35
36 Napa in Cyprus, Dan Knox examines the often vilified mass youth tourism, 36
37 making a plea for deeper and more nuanced understanding of the phenomenon. 37
38 He looks at both the signifying practices of those participating in clubbing 38
39 holiday and the representations of such holidays and how the circulation of those 39
40 representations fuels the continued consumption of youth tourism products. The 40
41 chapter is primarily concerned with the relationship between mass tourism and the 41
42 everyday. Knox argues that youth tourism is not so much a break from general life 42
43 experiences as a period of increased activity, a spectacular manifestation of the 43
44 everyday. Representations consumed in advance such as media performances and 44

- 1 club soundtracks heighten a sense of expectation while providing the necessary 1
 2 knowledge to become insiders of the scene. An inflection of Bourdieu's account of 2
 3 cultural capital to become subcultural capital is central to the chapter. Like more 3
 4 sophisticated forms of tourism, youth tourism is also a way of gathering valuable 4
 5 experience that has value within particular social field. 5
 6 The book finishes with a commentary on the Mediterranean on the age of mass 6
 7 tourism, following the spirit of French historian Fernand Braudel. This commentary 7
 8 emphasizes the significance of mass tourism in shaping and reshaping the region. 8
 9 Mass tourism has become the very fabric of the Mediterranean, conferring to the 9
 10 region a new economic and social centrality. It is the Mediterranean route to post- 10
 11 modernity. 11
 12 12
 13 13
 14 **References** 14
 15 15
 16 Abram, S., Waldren, J. and Macleod, D.V.L. 1997. *Tourists and Tourism*, London: 16
 17 Berg Publishers. 17
 18 Aguiló, E., Alegre, J. and Sard, M. 2005. The persistence of the sun and sand 18
 19 tourism model. *Tourism Management*, 26(2), 219-31. 19
 20 Amer, J. 2006. *Turisme i Política: L'Empresariat Hoteler de Mallorca*. Palma: 20
 21 Documenta Balear. 21
 22 Apostolopoulos, Y., Loukissas, P.J. and Leontidou, L. 2001. *Mediterranean* 22
 23 *Tourism: Facets of Socioeconomic Development and Cultural Change*. 23
 24 London: Routledge. 24
 25 Augé, M. 1995. *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. 25
 26 London: Verso. 26
 27 Bærenholdt, J. O., Haldrup, M., Larsen, J and Urry, J. 2004. *Performing Tourist* 27
 28 *Places*. Andover, Ashgate. 28
 29 Bakhtin, M., 1984. *Rabelais and His World*. Indianapolis: Indiana University 29
 30 Press. 30
 31 Bauman, Z. 2000. *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 31
 32 Bennett, T. 1983. A thousand and one troubles: Blackpool Pleasure Beach, in 32
 33 *Formations of Pleasure*, edited by F. Jameson et al. London: Routledge, 138– 33
 34 55. 34
 35 Billig, P.M. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage. 35
 36 Boissevain, J. 1996. *Coping With Tourists: European Reactions to Mass Tourism*. 36
 37 Oxford: Berghahn Books. 37
 38 Borch, C. 2006. The exclusion of the crowd: the destiny of a sociological figure of 38
 39 the irrational. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 9(1), 83–102. 39
 40 Bramwell, B. 2003. *Coastal Mass Tourism: Diversification and Sustainable* 40
 41 *Development in Southern Europe*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications. 41
 42 Carter, S. 2007. *Rise and Shine: Sunlight, Technology and Health*. Oxford: Berg 42
 43 Publishers. 43
 44 44
 45 45

- 1 de Certeau, M. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley, CA: California 1
2 University Press. 2
- 3 Cirer, J., 2004. *De la Fonda a l'Hotel*. Palma: Documenta Balear. 3
- 4 Corbin, A. 1994. *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western 4*
5 *World, 1750-1840*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. 5
- 6 Crang, M. 1999. Knowing, tourism and practices of vision, in *Leisure/tourism 6*
7 *Geographies: Practices and Geographical Knowledge*, edited by D. Crouch. 7
8 London: Routledge, 136-53. 8
- 9 Crang, M. 2006. Circulation and emplacement: the hollowed-out performance of 9
10 Tourism, in *Travels in Paradox*, edited by C. Minca and T. Oakes. Lanham, 10
11 MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 47-64. 11
- 12 Crang, M. 2009. Moving Places, becoming tourist, becoming ethnographer, in 12
13 *Mobilities: Practices, Spaces, Subjects*, edited by T. Cresswell and P. Merriman. 13
14 Andover: Ashgate. 14
- 15 Crick, M. 1992. Ali & Me: an essay in street corner anthropology, in *Anthropology 15*
16 *and Autobiography*, edited by J. Okely and H. Callaway. London: Routledge, 16
17 175-92. 17
- 18 Crouch, D. 1999. *Leisure/Tourism Geographies: Practices and Geographical 18*
19 *Knowledge*. London: Routledge. 19
- 20 Debord, G. 1973. *Society of the Spectacle*. Detroit: Black & Red Books. 20
- 21 Desmond, J. 1999. *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*. 21
22 Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. 22
- 23 Edensor, T. 2001. Performing tourism, staging tourism: (re)producing tourist space 23
24 and practice. *Tourist Studies*, 1(1), 59-81. 24
- 25 Franklin, A. 2003. *Tourism: An Introduction*. London: Sage. 25
- 26 Franklin, A. and Crang, M. 2001. The trouble with tourism and travel theory. 26
27 *Tourist Studies*, 1(1), 5-22. 27
- 28 Foucault, M. 1978. *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction*. New York: 28
29 Vintage Books. 29
- 30 Galani-Moutafi, V. 2000. The self and the other: traveller, ethnographer, tourist. 30
31 *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(1), 203-24. 31
- 32 Guattari, F. 1992. *Chaosmosis: A New Ethico-Aesthetic Paradigm*. Indianapolis: 32
33 Indiana University Press. 33
- 34 Haldrup, M. and Larsen, J. 2003. The family gaze. *Tourist Studies*, 3(1), 23-46. 34
- 35 Huizinga, J. 1998. *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*. London: 35
36 Routledge. 36
- 37 Inglis, F. 2000. *The Delicious History of the Holiday*. London: Routledge. 37
- 38 Koshar, R. 1998. 'What ought to be seen': tourists' guidebooks and national 38
39 identities in modern Germany and Europe. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 39
40 33(3), 323-40. 40
- 41 Le Bon, G. 2002, orig. 1895. *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*. New York, 41
42 Dover Publications. 42
- 43 Lenček, L. and G. Bosker 1998. *The Beach: The History of Paradise on Earth*. 43
44 London: Secker & Warburg. 44

- 1 Löfgren, O. 1985. Wish you were here! Holiday images and picture postcards. 1
- 2 *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, 15, 90-107. 2
- 3 Löfgren, O. (1999). *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing*. Berkeley, CA, 3
- 4 University of California Press. 4
- 5 Fundació La Caixa. 2000. *Welcome! Un segle de Turisme a les Illes Balears*. 5
- 6 Barcelona: Fundació La Caixa. 6
- 7 Massey, D. B. 2005. *For Space*. London: Sage. 7
- 8 Minca, C. and Oakes, T. 2006. *Travels in Paradox: Remapping Tourism*. Lanham: 8
- 9 Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 9
- 10 Montanari, A. and Williams, A.M. 1995. *European Tourism: Regions, Spaces, and* 10
- 11 *Restructuring*. Oxford: Wiley 11
- 12 Morris, M. 1988. Banality in cultural studies. *Discourse*, 10(2), 3-29. 12
- 13 MVRDV 2000. *Costa Iberica: Upbeat to the Leisure City*. Barcelona: Actar. 13
- 14 O'Reilly, K. 2000. *The British on the Costa Del Sol: Transnational Identities and* 14
- 15 *Local Communities*. London: Routledge. 15
- 16 Pack, S.D. 2006. *Tourism and Dictatorship: Europe's Peaceful Invasion of* 16
- 17 *Franco's Spain*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 17
- 18 Risse, M. 1998. White knee socks versus photojournalist vests: distinguishing 18
- 19 between travellers and tourists, in *Travel Culture: Essays on What Makes Us* 19
- 20 *Go*, edited by C.T. Williams. Westport, CT: Praeger, 40-50 20
- 21 Rojek, C. 1993. *Ways of Escape: Modern Transformations in Leisure and Travel*. 21
- 22 London: Palgrave Macmillan. 22
- 23 Rozenberg, P.D. 1990. *Ibiza, una Isla Para Otra Vida*, Madrid: Centro de 23
- 24 Investigaciones Sociológicas. 24
- 25 Seigworth, G. 2000. Banality for cultural studies. *Cultural Studies*, 14(2), 227- 25
- 26 68. 26
- 27 Selwyn, T. 1996. *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Modern Tourism*. 27
- 28 Chichester: Wiley. 28
- 29 Sheller, M. 2004. Demobilizing and remobilizing Caribbean paradise, in *Tourism* 29
- 30 *Mobilities: Places to Play, Places in Play*, edited by M. Sheller and J. Urry. 30
- 31 London: Routledge, 13-21. 31
- 32 Sheller, M. and Urry, J. 2004. *Tourism Mobilities: Places to Play, Places in Play*. 32
- 33 London: Routledge 33
- 34 Thrift, N. 1997. The still point: resistance, expressive embodiment and dance, in 34
- 35 *Geographies of Resistance*, edited by S. Pile and M. Keith. London: Routledge, 35
- 36 124-51. 36
- 37 Turner, L. and Ash, J. 1975. *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the* 37
- 38 *Pleasure Periphery*. London: Constable. 38
- 39 Urbain, J.D. 2003. *At the Beach*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 39
- 40 Urry, J. 1990. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. 40
- 41 London: Sage. 41
- 42 Vasudevan, A. 2006. Experimental urbanisms: Psychotechnik in Weimar Berlin. 42
- 43 *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24 (6), 799-826. 43
- 44 44
- 45 45

1	Vilarós, T.M. 2005. Banalidad y biopolítica: la transición y el nuevo orden del	1
2	mundo. In <i>Desacuerdos</i> , edited by MACBA. Barcelona: MACBA, 25-56.	2
3	Waldren, J. 1996. <i>Insiders and Outsiders</i> , London: Berghahn Books.	3
4	Walton, J.K. 2000. <i>The British Seaside: Holidays and Resorts in the Twentieth</i>	4
5	<i>Century</i> . Manchester: Manchester University Press.	5
6		6
7		7
8		8
9		9
10		10
11		11
12		12
13		13
14		14
15		15
16		16
17		17
18		18
19		19
20		20
21		21
22		22
23		23
24		24
25		25
26		26
27		27
28		28
29		29
30		30
31		31
32		32
33		33
34		34
35		35
36		36
37		37
38		38
39		39
40		40
41		41
42		42
43		43
44		44

Chapter 2

Morocco: Restaging Colonialism for the Masses

Claudio Minca and Rachele Borghi

14 Introduction

16 Jamaa el Fna square, Marrakech, on a hot May afternoon: two water sellers 16
17 (*garraba*) in traditional attire (Figure 2.1) pose for the tourists' cameras, 17
18 resplendent in their colorful clothes, their weathered leather sacks full of water. 18
19 This performance often includes a photo with the tourist pretending to drink the 19
20 water taken from the sacks. With the *mise en scène* over, the tourist usually drops 20
21 a coin into their purse and, sometimes, begins chatting with the water-seller that 21
22 just moments previously was the centre of the performance (Figure 2.2). This 22
23 passage between the 'front-stage' and the 'back-stage', where the informal chat 23
24 takes place, appears effortless, as though it too were part of what Goffman (1959) 24
25 would term 'the representation'. 25

26 The water sellers have for long been important figures in the global iconography 26
27 that inscribes Morocco and the culture(s) of its mass tourism; an iconography 27
28 that, by now, is part of the European collective travel imaginary. The water 28
29 sellers also often appear in the promotional materials produced by the Moroccan 29
30 tourist authorities. Their performance represent a sort of tourist 'tradition', re- 30
31 enacted daily in the Jamaa el Fna. Yet what is most interesting in this scene is the 31
32 fundamentally banal nature of the water sellers' tourist experience; a banality not 32
33 only confirmed by the commercial transaction it entails, but also by the fact that 33
34 the water sellers, after the 'staging' process, are often treated by the tourists as 34
35 people like any other, thus deprived of any 'Oriental' aura or exoticism. 35

36 In this chapter, we intend to highlight precisely this (only apparent) distance 36
37 between the 'exotic' aura that tourist promotion assigns to the 'cultural experience 37
38 of Morocco' and the banality of many tourist practices. We focus our comments 38
39 on Marrakech in particular, often presented as the iconic site of Moroccaness. 39
40 We suggest that such experiences and practices are, in fact, also the result 40
41 of the repetitive nature of many tourist performances: repetition in the hosts's 41
42 performances – who meet different tourists but follow the same rituals/codes 42
43 many times every day; and repetition in the tourists's own practices – who collect 43
44 very similar experiences and play similar roles in many different moments and 44



Figure 2.1 Water seller (garraba) in Jamaa el Fna, Marrakech (photo by Rachele Borghi)



Figure 2.2 Water seller and a tourist chatting after the ritual photo-performance (photo by Claudio Minca)

1 places while travelling (see Rojek 1996, Coleman and Crang 2002, Oakes 2005, 1
2 2006). More broadly, we focus on the (banality) of the Orientalist images adopted 2
3 to promote Morocco, on the one hand, and the actual translation of these latter into 3
4 'real' geographies of tourism, into a newly spatialized colonial nostalgia that is 4
5 literally transforming the face of some *medinas* and other tourist spaces. 5

6 The recent evolution of Moroccan mass tourism towards a 'cultural turn' 6
7 of sorts (see Borghi 2004, Filali 2008) has, in fact, been matched by growing 7
8 attention on the part of the national government to the economic and political 8
9 role that tourism can potentially play in the future development of the country. 9
10 The Tourist Master Plan launched by the Moroccan Government during the *Assise* 10
11 *Nationale du Tourisme* held in Marrakech in January 2001 aims for rapid growth in 11
12 the number of visitors and the consolidation of Morocco as key 'cultural tourism' 12
13 destination in the Mediterranean. The Master Plan reflects a revolutionary vision 13
14 for Moroccan tourism that by 2010 should reach the magic threshold of 10 million 14
15 visitors a year, thanks to a strategic diversification of its attractions and itineraries, 15
16 the improvement of access and transportation, and the realization of new hotels 16
17 and resorts (Daoud 2001: 28). While also making reference to existing competition 17
18 with other Mediterranean destinations, such as Turkey, Tunisia and Egypt, the 18
19 Plan presents tourism as a key factor in the enhancement of the prestige and the 19
20 visibility of Morocco on the international scene more broadly (Franco 1996: 26, 20
21 Filali 2000: 10, El Amrani 2001: 26). The aim of this 'new vision for tourism' is, 21
22 indeed, creating a new 'culture of hospitality' able to accommodate mass arrivals 22
23 from Europe, new, more sophisticated, expressions of colonial aesthetics, and new 23
24 forms of secure (geopolitically speaking) and easy-to-reach Oriental exoticism. 24

25 The new Plan has proved relatively successful, doubling the number of visitors 25
26 in just a few years (reaching about 4.1 millions in 2006).¹ Combining an aggressive 26
27 campaign to encourage further international investment in Marrakech (designated 27
28 as Morocco's 'showcase' on the international scene) with the signing of an 'Open 28
29 Skies' agreement with European carriers, the Plan also encouraged the promotion 29
30 of a new international image based on the restaging of the country's colonial past 30
31 for the new mass tourists. The campaign found fertile ground within the European 31
32 market, long prepared to experience Morocco as the ultimate destination for the 32
33 materialization of a sophisticated colonial nostalgia.² 33

34 In this chapter, we will reflect on the selling of such 'colonial nostalgia' and on 34
35 some of its practical implications for contemporary Moroccan mass tourism. What 35
36 we will try to highlight is how, in some places and some moments in time, tourist 36
37 experiences are translated into the production of a set of (often banal) practices 37
38 that often (playfully) challenge the global(ized) representations that inscribe 38
39 and promote those very practices (see Baehrenholdt et al.. 2004). By drawing 39
40

41 1 See <http://www.tourisme.gov.ma/francais/5-Tourisme-chiffres/ArriveeTouristes>. 41
42 htm [accessed: 19 Juny 2008]. 42

43 2 A trend that has also been observed in other former colonies, see Bissell 2005; 43
44 Gregory 2001; Mahr 2007; Peleggi 2005; Rosaldo 1989. 44
45

1 attention to such instances, we hope to, on the one hand, deflect (at least in part) 1
 2 the usual criticism leveled at mass cultural tourism – that is, its presumed reliance 2
 3 on ‘false’ and static (neo)colonial images of other cultures (see Minca 2007); on 3
 4 the other, we wish to underscore how such instances often support a much more 4
 5 mundane interpretation of tourism and of the culture that they help produce (see 5
 6 Crang 1999, 2004, 2006; Crouch 2004, 2005; Edensor 2001, 2006). The tourist 6
 7 ‘staging of the colonial’, in all its banality and sometime vulgarity, contributes in 7
 8 fact to mobilizing people, capital and images, while also materially transforming 8
 9 places and the meanings attached to them (see Henderson and Weisgrau 2007). 9

10 Following a brief genealogy of mass tourism in Morocco, we focus our attention 10
 11 on the new ‘cultural’ turn in Moroccan tourism. In particular, we highlight some 11
 12 of the processes of the restaging of the colonial for the masses in the Marrakech 12
 13 medina, building on our previous research on this topic (Borghi 2008a, Minca 13
 14 2006, Borghi and Minca 2003). Tourism in Marrakech and, more specifically, the 14
 15 tourist colonization of the medina (see, for example, Escher et al., 2001a, 2001b) 15
 16 provides a particularly important focus for our central argument, also because 16
 17 the implications that these processes have and are likely to have in the future 17
 18 development of mass tourism in the rest of the country. 18

19 The opening up of Moroccan skies to low-cost European airlines a few years 19
 20 ago has, de facto, brought Marrakech much closer to European tourist markets, 20
 21 favoring the growth of new forms of cultural mass tourism. In Marrakech, 21
 22 and especially in its increasingly gentrified medina, the objectification and 22
 23 sacralization of certain aspects of Moroccan life assumes almost grotesque 23
 24 manifestations, reflected in the tourists’s own performances. This is due both to 24
 25 a grossly oversimplified understanding of ‘Arab life’ and to the fact that tourists 25
 26 must depend on local ‘mediators’ and local organizations to help them negotiate 26
 27 complex urban spaces that would otherwise be extremely difficult to approach 27
 28 or even reach. As this chapter will suggest, in such spaces aestheticized colonial 28
 29 nostalgia is coupled with an extraordinary degree of banality in tourist practices. 29
 30 The way in which such massified banal practices dialogue with representations 30
 31 produced and promoted by the media and by tour operators is an intriguing and 31
 32 partially overlooked field of investigation, at least in the Moroccan context. 32
 33 33
 34 34

35 ***L’Appel du Maroc*** 35 36 36

37 In the early nineties, the French advertisement company *Publicis* was commissioned 37
 38 by the Moroccan Government to create a new promotional campaign entitled 38
 39 ‘*Maroc: l’éblouissement des sens*’, a campaign that was strongly marked by 39
 40 appeals to exotic and Orientalist understandings of the ‘Morocco experience’ 40
 41 (Ejeux 1993). Such understandings are recalled today by almost all Moroccan tour 41
 42 operators and dedicated websites, as well as publications produced by the Ministry 42
 43 of Tourism and the *Office National Marocain du Tourisme*. Morocco is presented 43
 44 as an exotic yet at the same time easy-to-reach destination, characterized by an 44

1 'uncontaminated nature', picturesque landscapes, labyrinthine medina(s), and a 1
 2 unique 'culture of hospitality': 2

3 3
 4 As Western Europe's closest African and Arab neighbor, Morocco enjoys regular 4
 5 and very convenient air links across the World. It also boasts a rapidly expanding 5
 6 modern telecommunications network, hotels of international standard and the 6
 7 kind of infrastructure that makes Morocco one of the most highly developed and 7
 8 politically stable countries in Africa. 8

9 9
 10 At the same time, Morocco is a country steeped in history and traditional culture 10
 11 that has lost none of its authenticity despite its close links with the West. 11

12 12
 13 Blessed with some of the most stunning landscapes of any country in the world, 13
 14 Morocco has justly become a firm favorite amongst film makers, photographers, 14
 15 travel planners and, most importantly, conference organizers.³ 15

16 16
 17 *Alizes Travel*, a tour operator based in Casablanca claims to offer, instead, a 17
 18 'Morocco where dreams come true'. Its English-language catalogue contains a 18
 19 series of washed-out, hazy images, presumably evoking the country's 'dream-like' 19
 20 atmosphere. The pictures that embellish the catalogue are largely of Marrakech's 20
 21 'magical' landscapes (the city's ochre-red walls, Jamaa el Fna square, the 21
 22 snowcapped Atlas Mountains and so on). In the background lie the contours of 22
 23 the country, marked with the key destinations of their 'tours' (Tangiers, Rabat, 23
 24 Casablanca, Marrakech itself, Agadir, Laayoune and so on.). 24

25 It is interesting that here, as in most of the brochures we examined, the images 25
 26 convey a rather ambivalent message, for references to 'upscale' modern facilities 26
 27 are frequently accompanied by the evocation of the work of Orientalist painters 27
 28 like Delacroix, Majorelle and Matisse and, in general, an Orientalist, colonial 28
 29 imaginary. The dominant trope is, in fact, the wholly-colonial '*L'Appel du Maroc*'⁴ 29
 30 – a trope that draws on a long tradition of itinerant cultural tourism, inaugurated 30
 31 already by the French during the days of the Protectorate, now revived and 31
 32 reinterpreted within the contemporary Moroccan restaging of the colonial for the 32
 33 masses. 33

34 It is towards the end of the 1800s that the 'Orientalist gaze' shifted its focus 34
 35 from cities like Cairo and Shanghai, turning its eyes towards Morocco (Rivet 35
 36 1984: 97), that soon comes to be perceived as the most fascinating materialization 36
 37 of the Oriental ideal. This 'vision' of Morocco was actively promoted by painters 37
 38 and writers, but also by the *savants* of the time (Borghi 2008a, Rivet 1984). These 38
 39 latter, though primarily engaged in the 'translation' of Morocco into the language 39
 40 40

41 3 Travel Link, a Marrakech based tour operator, www.travellink.ma [accessed: 19 41
 42 June 2008]. 42

43 4 This trope was, indeed, the focus of a recent volume edited by Rondeau (2000), 43
 44 published by the Paris-based *Institute du Monde Arabe*. 44
 45 45

1 of scientific discovery and colonial enterprise, were at once concerned for the 1
2 potential loss of its 'magic aura' that modernization might bring: 2

3
4 Our love for the Morocco of old, our joy in travelling through its landscapes, in 4
5 experiencing the fascination of its Islamic civilization, primitive yet nonetheless 5
6 captivating, all these are marked by an underlying melancholy, an underlying 6
7 realization: so many of these enticements, so many of these emotions will soon 7
8 disappear (Ladreit de Lacharrière 1911, cited in Rivet 1988: 20) 8
9 9

10 Such a vision of Morocco was also sustained by a new 'marocanisant' literature, 10
11 inspired in large part by the scenes portrayed by Delacroix (1893, 1999; see also 11
12 Turco 1995). This literature emerges at the end of the nineteenth century and soon 12
13 becomes very popular among the French and European readership more broadly, 13
14 a readership irresistibly drawn to exotic, 'Oriental' experiences (see Potier 2006). 14
15 Morocco appears to represent, for many, the last bastion of Oriental beauty and 15
16 Islamic civilization, able to offer to the European traveler the profound sense of 16
17 *dépaysement* they yearned for (Boëhm 1993). The first travel guide to Morocco 17
18 was written in 1889 by M. de Kerce, at the time the editor of a Tangiers-based 18
19 magazine bearing the evocative title *Le réveil du Maroc* (Lebel 1936: 347). The 19
20 nineteenth century pioneers of modern tourism were mainly artists, explorers and 20
21 missionaries, travelling individually. Nonetheless, their accounts of Morocco (see 21
22 for example de Foucauld 1888, Loti 1889, De Amicis 1913) became of crucial 22
23 importance in drawing a first (European) map of the potential tourist 'resources' of 23
24 the country, a map that the French Protectorate (established in 1912) would adopt 24
25 as a key referent for its own (tourist) re-interpretation of Moroccan places and 25
26 landscapes (see Wharton 2003). 26

27 Despite the relative political instability and lack of military 'pacification' of 27
28 many parts of the Protectorate in its early days, the French Governor, *Resident* 28
29 *General* Marechal Herbert Lyautey decided to launch a campaign for the 29
30 development of international tourism in the country on a relatively large scale. 30
31 The role of tourism, in Lyautey's vision of Morocco,⁵ was particularly important 31
32 for two reasons: firstly, by attracting European (mainly French) visitors, tourism 32
33 would help incorporate the 'new' Morocco into European geographies of culture 33
34 and nature; secondly, this form of 'appropriation' in many ways reflected Lyautey's 34
35 own ideology of the 'valorization' of the *patrimoine* of the colonized country, 35
36 confirming the (political) legitimacy of his ambitious colonial vision for Morocco 36
37 (see Morton 2000, Rabinow 1989). The arrival of (an albeit limited number of) 37
38 tourists in the early decades of the 1900s was thus seen as an important mark of 38
39 the successful pacification of this at times 'rebellious land', while also proving 39
40 justification for further (military) 'stabilization', as well as the establishment of 40
41 41

42 5 On this vision see Barthou 1930; Benoist-Mechin 2007; Doury 2002; Hoisington 42
43 1995; Laprade 1934; Lyautey 1995; Maurois 1931; Rabinow 1989; Rivet 1980, 1988, 2002; 43
44 Venier 1997. 44

1 better communication networks – and pre-disposition of some highly representative 1
2 sites in Morocco's key cities for the nascent tourist market. 2

3 The first forms of modern tourism in Morocco developed, indeed, in the 1920s 3
4 (see Cattedra 1990) and it was in these early stages that a specific geography 4
5 of tourism, closely shaped by the colonial desire for (and military control of) 5
6 Morocco, began to take shape; a geography that would remain essentially 6
7 unchanged all through the twentieth century. The first all-inclusive tour was 7
8 organized in 1920: starting in Bordeaux, over the space of three weeks it took 8
9 tourists through Casablanca, El Jadida, Marrakech, Meknes, Fes, Oujda and Oran, 9
10 ending in Algiers. The first tourist resorts, on the other hand, came to be realized 10
11 within a securitized territorial triangle along the Atlantic coastline, marked by the 11
12 pivotal roles of Tangiers, Fez and Marrakech, that soon became the most popular 12
13 Moroccan destination among European travellers (Weisweiler 1932: 104). 13

14 Lyautey, in fact, was careful to lay the ground for Marrakech's emergence as 14
15 a successful tourist destination: his comprehensive urban plan created majestic 15
16 boulevards, beautiful garden spaces and prestigious colonial buildings, built in a 16
17 Moresque style. Indeed, the Resident General's architects used a sophisticated play 17
18 of perspectives in creating Marrakech's *Ville Nouvelle* in order to emphasize views 18
19 of the famous Koutobia minaret, the city's red walls and the Atlas Mountains (see 19
20 Borghi 2008b, Clément 1994, Minca 2006). Travelers to Marrakech (and Morocco 20
21 in general) during the first decades of the Protectorate also lamented, however, the 21
22 lack of adequate services and hotels able to attract and accommodate a rich and 22
23 sophisticated clientele. As one commentator noted, 23

24
25 The hotels [in Marrakech] lack the comforts expected by a rich tourist clientele, 25
26 used to the palaces of Italy or Egypt [...]. We can only hope that one day 26
27 Marrakech, too, will boast one of these hotels, a veritable colonial palace, set in 27
28 a large garden full of exotic trees, palms and flowers, with apartments specially 28
29 adapted for life in a climate that is mild in the winter and very hot in the summer 29
30 months. 30

31
32 At that point, Marrakech will become truly the tourist destination I dream of. The 32
33 railways will also join Guéliz,⁶ carrying the suitcases, trunks and hat-boxes of 33
34 elegant women who will play tennis on courts shaded by palms in the December 34
35 sun, oblivious to all the work that has gone into conquering, conserving and 35
36 constructing for them this winter paradise (Dugard 1918: 181–2). 36

37
38 The dream soon came true. In 1921, Lyautey inaugurated the majestic Mamounia 38
39 Hotel that rapidly gained an extraordinary international reputation (Compagnie 39

40
41
42
43 6 Marrakech's *Ville Nouvelle*, created by Lyautey's architects (see Borghi 2008a; 43
44 2008b; Clément 1994). 44
45



Figure 2.3 La Mamounia (photo by Rachele Borghi)

des chemins de fer au Maroc 1921: 1).⁷ With the opening of the Mamounia (see Figure 2.3), Marrakech became a prestigious destination and a gathering point for the international 'jet-set' of the day, hosting many important events (Bauchet 1954: 44). That very same year, the French publisher Hachette released the third edition of the *Guide Bleu* to Morocco (the first one having been published in 1918); the initiative was highly praised by the Protectorate authorities and, indeed, the preface was written by Marechal Lyautey (1918: 1) himself, noting that the Guide 'provided an exceptional opportunity to publicize a country destined to be an important tourist destination'.

In 1937, after almost two decades of growth of the tourist sector, the *Office Chérifien du Tourisme* was created. Its purpose was 'to study all tourism related questions, both with and outside of Morocco, and seek the best possible means to promote its development' (Hillali 2007). The Office was shut down with the outbreak of the Second World War, but reopened in 1946 with a new name – the *Office National Marocain du Tourisme* – an institution that survived the transition

⁷ The Mamounia remained, for many years, the winter holiday spot of choice of the international 'jet-set'. It is said to have been a favourite of Winston Churchill (see Mourad 1994).

1 towards independence and that is still active today.⁸ The legacy of the colonial 1
 2 period was not limited, however, to such institutions or even the transformation of 2
 3 tourism into an important economic resource for the country. Lyautey's vision – 3
 4 and projects – comprehensively re-wrote Morocco for the European traveling eye, 4
 5 re-inscribing the country as an exotic destination: arguably still a decisive element 5
 6 in attracting mass tourism to Morocco today. With the end of the Protectorate in 6
 7 1956, Morocco inherited both the facilities and the 'cultures' of tourism created by 7
 8 the French colonial project over the space of four decades.⁹ These tourist cultures 8
 9 (and infrastructures) strongly influenced the policies of the first decades of the 9
 10 independent Morocco state – and are partially still with us today (Filali 2008). 10

13 **'Mature' Tourism Geographies** 13

15 As it enters the twenty-first century, Moroccan tourism is characterized by a series 15
 16 of 'mature' tourism geographies consolidated in the 1980s and 1990s, both in 16
 17 terms of the management of its attractions and hospitality industry, as well as 17
 18 a distinct collective imaginary that continues to attract European visitors. These 18
 19 geographies have played and continue to play today an extremely important 19
 20 role for the economic and political development of the country as a whole, and 20
 21 reverberate in intriguing ways in the 'products' that Morocco 'crafts' for its tourist 21
 22 masses (see Berriane 2003). 22

23 The Moroccan Government launched its first initiatives in the tourist sector 23
 24 just a few years following independence. It was the Mediterranean coast that 24
 25 received most of the early investment, a decision that had important implications 25
 26 for domestic tourism, but that never seriously impacted international arrivals 26
 27 (Hillali 2005). Morocco was – and remains today – an 'exotic' Arab and African 27
 28 destination for the European market, and its limited Mediterranean tourist 28
 29 development could never actually compete with other countries better equipped 29
 30 for mass beach tourism (Lozato-Giotart 2008). Nonetheless, by clearly focusing 30
 31 on tourism as a strategy of economic development already in those early days, 31
 32 the Moroccan Government made a decisive political choice; that is, to tie the 32
 33 country's economy to the 'free market, liberal bloc', at a moment in time when 33
 34 many other African countries were instead opting for variants of state-socialism. 34
 35 In this respect, it is particularly significant that in 1964, a group of experts from 35
 36 the World Bank was invited to visit the country and to draw up a plan for its future 36
 37 economic development. The Bank's experts agreed that Morocco should abandon 37
 38 large industrial projects in favour of developing its tourism sector, seen as capable 38
 39 of attracting more foreign investment and revenues, while creating jobs through 39

42 8 See <http://www.tourisme.gov.ma> 42

43 9 In 1953, there were 265 hotels in Morocco, with approximately 7500 rooms 43
 44 accommodating 253,000 tourists (Bélanger and Sarrasin 1996). 44

1 the 'valorization of the cultural and natural resources of the country' (Hillali 2007: 1
2 60–1).

3 From 1965 onwards, the combined effect of the encouragement of international 3
4 organizations, the enthusiasm of multinational hotel groups and expectations of 4
5 future investments on the part of the private sector, resulted in the launch of a series 5
6 of plans for large scale tourism development. The 1965–72 Plan, in particular, 6
7 inaugurated a new stage by explicitly identifying tourism as the second most 7
8 important economic sector, after agriculture (ibid.). The Moroccan Government, 8
9 having abandoned any grand ambitions of realizing a modern industrial apparatus, 9
10 began to take an even stronger role in the management and promotion of the tourist 10
11 sector. Tourism was seen, in fact, as a realm of development that required strong 11
12 public intervention. Trying to learn from the Spanish experience of the 1960s, the 12
13 Government's tourism development policies aimed at 'privileging mass tourism 13
14 without depending too much on it, at diversifying its clientele, at regionalizing its 14
15 effects and benefits and at improving its impact for the whole country' (Secrétaire 15
16 ... 2005, see also Galissot 1999). 16

17 Significant investment in the tourism sector was also seen as a form of 17
18 compensation for some of the more peripheral areas of the country that were 18
19 left out of the major economic developments following independence (mainly 19
20 centered on the Tangiers-Casablanca-Rabat axis) (see Lozato-Giotart 1991). Such 20
21 heavy-handed public intervention – ironically, quite reminiscent of many colonial 21
22 strategies of economic management under the Protectorate – persisted up to 1978. 22
23 The oil shocks of the early 1970s, the State's annexation of Western Sahara in 23
24 1975, and finally the collapse of phosphate prices in 1976–78, brought a significant 24
25 downturn in the country's economic fortunes, resulting in the Government's 25
26 partial withdrawal from the tourism sector and, in the decade following 1983, the 26
27 implementation of a series of policies of 'structural adjustment' prescribed by the 27
28 International Monetary Fund (Hillali 2007: 61). 28

29 Overall, while tourism confirmed some of its potentialities in the decades 29
30 between 1960–1980, it never took off as a thriving sector able to support, with 30
31 its direct and indirect impacts, the growth of the country's economy as a whole. 31
32 This is reflected in some statistics from the period: starting from the very modest 32
33 figure of 146,000 arrivals in 1960, the trend remained positive for more than a 33
34 decade, reaching a million visitors in 1973. A long period of relative stagnation 34
35 subsequently followed, with 1.3 million arrivals in 1984. Rapid growth resumed in 35
36 the second half of the 1980s, culminating in the 3.2 million arrivals record figure 36
37 in 1992. These numbers were to prove quite ephemeral, however, for the number 37
38 of arrivals fell dramatically in 1995 as a consequence of the deadly terrorist attack 38
39 in a Marrakech hotel in 1994 – recovering only partially by the turn of the century 39
40 (2.4 million in 2000) (Département du Tourisme 2000). 40

41 Morocco's tourism geographies remained, by and large, those inherited from the 41
42 Protectorate, with a leading role played by the traditional 'triangle' of the 'Imperial 42
43 Cities' and with only limited impact of its Mediterranean coastal development. The 43
44 launch of Agadir as the main – if not the sole – 'international beach destination' 44

1 was partially successful, although based on a relatively standardized and lower-
 2 end tourist 'product', that soon began to suffer the competition of other 'new'
 3 Mediterranean destinations. Even the Moroccan desert South, given a further
 4 boost by the closing down of Algeria to international tourism in the 1990s,
 5 never achieved the figures and the impact predicted. By and large, the Moroccan
 6 authorities came to the realization that with the exception of the package tours
 7 headed for Agadir¹⁰, the country's real attraction was still very much its colonial
 8 legacy, with its corollary of exotic and Orientalist images that had not yet been
 9 'exploited' in all their potential.

10 The affirmation, in the past few years, of a 'cultural' (and, implicitly, colonial)
 11 vocation of Moroccan mass tourism, together with a more general 'cultural shift'
 12 in Mediterranean tourism¹¹, thus marked an important turning point in the planning
 13 strategies of Moroccan tourism. This shift has been crucial in the rapid increase
 14 in visitor s over the past few years, with a doubling of international arrivals (from
 15 2.4 million in 2000 to more than four in 2006), but also a renewed valorization of
 16 what has by now become a genuine Moroccan 'tourist tradition' in the European
 17 collective geographical imagination(s).

18 The contemporary re-staging of the colonial for the masses thus responds
 19 to a very specific strategy based on a new landscaped aesthetics and a new set
 20 of regional and urban hierarchies that are often only implicit in the promotional
 21 rhetoric adopted to engage with tourists. These geographies however are not only
 22 well known by the tourists (who sometimes seem to follow, in their itineraries,
 23 a sort of invisible tread) but represent, moreover, a real mapping of the 'places'
 24 where (global) images of Moroccaness intersect with a set of concrete practices, of
 25 mundane and banal experiences, giving life, in this way, to new forms of cultural
 26 production, new performances, new spatialities. It is for this very reason that it is
 27 worth while reflecting on how the Moroccan authorities are attempting today to re-
 28 fashion these well established geographies, both in terms of images and in terms of
 29 the aesthetics and the functional organization of tourist spaces and places.

32 Re-staging Morocco (For the Masses)

34 10 January 2001 is often presented as the key turning point for Moroccan tourism
 35 and its new 'vision'. As previously noted, mass tourism had not taken off as
 36 hoped for in the post-independence decades, due to a number of problems. The
 37 'Vision 2010' Master Plan hoped to address many of these: the lack of adequate
 38 air connections, weak transport infrastructures and facilities; a relatively poor
 39 quality and deregulated hotel industry; the harassment of tourists on the part of
 40 local *faux guides* in some mass tourism destinations; a strong dependence on the

42 10 In the last decades of the century, becoming the first destination in quantitative
 43 terms.

44 11 See the 'Introduction' in this volume

1 public sector; and, finally, a relatively weak 'brand image', unable to capture the 1
2 masses crowding other Mediterranean resorts. 2

3 The concrete objectives of the new plan were quite ambitious:¹² 3

- 4 4
- 5 • 10 million tourists by 2010 (7 from abroad); 5
- 6 • 160,000 new bed spaces, bringing overall capacity up to 230,000; 6
- 7 • total investments to reach 9 billion Euros; 7
- 8 • earnings of 48 billion Euros per year; 8
- 9 • 600,000 new jobs; 9
- 10 • tourism to increase its contribution to the GDP to about 20 percent 10
11 (compared to 8.5 percent in 2000) 11
- 12 12

13 In order to achieve these objectives, the Government aimed to diversify tourist 13
14 products, realize new structures and infrastructures, provide training for operators, 14
15 with a new focus on marketing and promotional strategies, and the valorization of 15
16 the natural and cultural 'resources' of the country. Beyond these quite common- 16
17 place strategic guidelines, however, King Mohammed VI (who chaired the *Assise* 17
18 *du Tourisme*), called for a radically new way of looking at (and living with) 18
19 tourism: tourism, in his words, was not simply about selling an exotic landscape 19
20 and experiences of *dépaysement* and adventure but, rather, tourism: 20

21 21

22 beyond constituting an economic activity of great importance, is also the 22
23 culture – and the art – of communicating with the Other. In this perspective, 23
24 its development requires a careful management of our natural resources [...] 24
25 but also the heritage of our civilization and millennial culture, known for its 25
26 tradition of hospitality (cited in El Amrani 2001: 26). 26

27 27

28 In this understanding, mass tourists should not be simply conceived as 'spectators 28
29 of the vestiges of Moroccan civilization', but rather the witnesses of the dynamic 29
30 history of a millennial culture: '[...] it is the duty of every Moroccan to consider 30
31 themselves a tourist entrepreneur, in order [for us] to succeed in this endeavour. 31
32 [We must] create a new welcoming culture for tourists, since we are the 'hosts' in 32
33 our country [...]' (ibid., 27). 33

34 The King's invocation, in many ways, became a launching pad for some of the 34
35 most innovative initiatives of the years that followed, while also profoundly shaping 35
36 the ways in which the country began to represent itself to the new masses eager to 36
37 approach (and pay for) an 'accessible' and 'hospitable' Morocco. Marrakech, in 37
38 particular, became a key focus of many of these initiatives. 38

39 39
40 40
41 41
42 42
43 43
44 44

12 See <http://www.tourisme.gov.ma>.



Figure 2.4 The Tea Ceremony

Source: Brochure of the Office National Marocain du Tourisme, ©.

New 'Cultural' Geographies of Tourism

The promotional stand of the *Office National Marocain du Tourisme* at the 2008 *Bourse Internationale du Tourisme* held in Milan, placed strong emphasis on two strands of mass tourism: first, on the 'Marrakech product', promoted with a CD entitled '*à la magie de Marrakech Medina*'; secondly, on what were previously considered niche products: golf and trekking in the High Atlas mountains (both presented only in English, signaling a new strategy for new markets). Overall, the 'Moroccan experience' was summarized in 5 themed chapters: 'Beach & Relaxation'; 'Culture & Discovery'; 'Sensations & Well-Being'; 'Golf & Art of Living' and 'Business & Relaxation'.¹³ The new brochure tellingly shows an intriguing compromise between some traditional stereotypes of Morocco and the search for a more sophisticated visual and textual language that transcends some of the 'banalities' previously utilized to address mass tourism.

The cover of the catalogue portrays the traditional Moroccan mint tea, served on a tray covered in rose petals, offered up to the reader (Figure 2.4). It is with this 'welcoming' gesture that the travel experience of Morocco begins. The brief textual introduction is in line with the spirit of the images:

¹³ See <http://www.tourisme-marocain.com>.

Located between the Mediterranean, the Atlantic Ocean and the Sahara desert, Morocco is a country where Nature let its imagination run free. It is a land of stunning contrasts, characterized by a culture and an atmosphere that bring together, in the Moroccan Kingdom, the most vivid dreams and Oriental traditions. From the peaks of the Rif and the Atlas Mountains covered in snow, to the verdant oases of the desert, from its golden beaches to its luxurious forests, from its Imperial cities to its Berber villages and Casbahs, Morocco offers the traveller a fabulous odyssey, a trip into Wonderland.

The catalogue is organized, moreover, according to a newly conceived cultural geography of tourism (see Figure 2.5):

'Marvelous travels into the North of Morocco' is, significantly, the focus of the first section, highlighting cities without a long standing tradition of mass tourism,¹⁴ but that today are at the core of the future geographies of tourism envisioned by the Government: Tangiers, Tetuan, Chefchaouen, Asilah and Larache. This part of the country is seen as central to the development not only of new forms of domestic tourism, but also of international beach tourism, albeit with a pinch of culture and exoticism.



Figure 2.6 European tourists enjoy a panoramic view from above of Fez

Source: Brochure of the Office National Marocain du Tourisme, copyright..

¹⁴ With the partial exception of Tangiers in the first decades after the war.

1 The second section, entitled 'Marvelous travels into the heart of Morocco' is 1
 2 focused, instead, on Fès, Meknès, Salé, Rabat, Casablanca, Safi and El Jadida. 2
 3 The 'heart' metaphor evokes a presumed geographical core, but also the political 3
 4 and historical 'centre' of the country, since the list includes three out of the four 4
 5 so-called 'Imperial Cities'. The opening pages depict a couple overlooking a vast 5
 6 urban area (see figure 2.6), occupying a privileged standpoint that allows them to 6
 7 'take-in' the landscape that lies below. The chosen spot is, in fact, one where all 7
 8 the guides in Fès take their tourists for a 'proper' visual experience of the most 8
 9 celebrated medina in the world. Tellingly, the couple is dressed in white linen, 9
 10 reminiscent of a colonial experience of the Orient. 10

11 The third section is dedicated instead to 'Marvelous travels into the Moroccan 11
 12 South'. Here, the Orientalist aesthetic is taken to its extremes in describing 12
 13 Marrakech, Essaouira, Agadir, Tafraoute, Taroudant, Ouarzazate and Zagora. 13
 14 Agadir, previously promoted as a stand-alone beach destination, is now associated 14
 15 with other more 'cultural' destinations, in line with the new intention of the 15
 16 Government to convert conventional (beach) mass tourism – where Morocco still 16
 17 suffers fierce competition from other Mediterranean destinations – into cultural 17
 18 mass tourism. The catalogue, in fact, significantly omits the word 'tourist', 18
 19 replacing it with the term 'traveler', more apt to convey the 'cultural' nature of the 19
 20 new travel experience of Morocco. 20

21 The last section is even more innovative, highlighting 'Marvelous travels into 21
 22 the North-East of Morocco', from Al Hoceima to Melilla, Oujda, Saidia and Figuig. 22
 23 This is clearly an attempt to expand and diversify the geographical reach of a form 23
 24 of mass tourism that is rapidly entering a mature phase in some destinations like 24
 25 Marrakech. Here, some of the traditional stereotypes (such as the '*the a la menthe*' 25
 26 depicted on the cover – Figure 2.4) are now accompanied by new products and a 26
 27 'cultural twist' with new itineraries and new themes. 27

28 This re-crafting of mass tourism is confirmed in the closing pages of the 28
 29 catalogue, dedicated to a description of the cultural features of Morocco, a country 29
 30 'ready to open its arms to the tourist'. Some of the major themes/resources 30
 31 highlighted are: 31

32 33 '*Hospitality*' 33 34 34

35 Encounters with the Moroccan people are the most important of the Kingdom's 35
 36 riches, where hospitality is still firmly in place in all of its provinces. The 36
 37 Moroccan population is of Arab, Andalusian, Berber and African origins, each 37
 38 characterized by diverse traditions and ways of life; traditions waiting to be 38
 39 discovered. 39
 40 40

41 Here, the colonial description of different 'types' of Moroccans – a sort of *Musée* 41
 42 *de l'Homme vivant* – is reminiscent of the cultural typologies described by French 42
 43 geographer George Hardy in his influential *Le Maroc* (1930). Just like Hardy's 43
 44 imagined geographies, the '*découverte du Maroc*' promised by the catalogue 44

1 englobes both fascinating landscapes and mysterious places, but also ‘curious’ 1
 2 people, and radically-different, objectified Others: ‘a diversity evident in the 2
 3 various dialects that characterize the country’s population, as well as their different 3
 4 modes of dress’. This mélange of colorful faces and peoples, however, is presented 4
 5 as part of a single mosaic making up the nation – but also the ‘Morocco brand’, 5
 6 offered up for the consumption of the masses. 6

7

8 *‘The Souk’* 8

9

10 It is an endless feast for the eyes, a cocktail of spices and other enticing smells, 10
 11 an intricate web of alleyways that never seem to end. Every Moroccan city has 11
 12 its own Medina, with its noisy crowds, enterprising salesmen, shops submerged 12
 13 in an Oriental *chiaroscuro*: ordinary scenes of an extraordinary life. 13

14

15 Here, too, the influence of Orientalist literature persists – although the ‘web of 15
 16 alleyways’ and the ‘Oriental *chiaroscuro*’ do not evoke a dangerous, potentially 16
 17 rebellious Orient (and Orientals) lurking in the medina, but rather a fascinating, 17
 18 dusty-orange colonial tableau, where poverty and backwardness are presented (and 18
 19 arguably perceived by the tourist) as markers of tradition and cultural ‘purity’. The 19
 20 ‘noisy crowds’ and the ‘enterprising salesmen’, become reassuring caricatures 20
 21 performing the *souk* for the Western gaze. 21

22

23 *‘The Sahara’* 23

24

25 Its history is that of Humanity itself. A mineral universe that gave birth to a 25
 26 whole continent, harbouring within it countless hidden treasures. An immensity 26
 27 of sand and rocks, of oases and mirages, the Sahara remains still today the land 27
 28 of enchantment and dreams of escape. 28

29

30 This is arguably the most innovative element of the presentation, although the 30
 31 language remains colonial, recalling an age of exploration and enchantment with 31
 32 the desert (see Rondeau 2000). This description evokes popular (and postcolonial) 32
 33 European understandings of the desert as an ‘empty’ space whose immensity 33
 34 inspires (in the contemporary traveler) meditation and self-reflection (in many 34
 35 ways echoing the nineteenth century trope of the lone (male and white) traveler- 35
 36 hero). But there is also an important new geopolitical dimension: 36

37

38 At the gates of the desert, along the Atlantic shore, several sites draw the 38
 39 traveller’s attention: Tan-Tan Beach and further down the coast, Cape Juby, then 39
 40 Tarfaya... And Laayoune, emerging from the sand in its triumphant modernity. 40
 41 But we should also not forget Smara, the spiritual capital of the Sahara, in the 41
 42 heart of the Saguia al Hamra. And in the extreme south, at the sources of the Rio 42
 43 de Oro, Dakhla with its port known for sports fishing, and the most beautiful bay 43
 44 of the southern Sahara. 44

45

1 Here, the former Western Sahara (annexed by Morocco in 1975 and still the
2 object of fierce political controversy) is presented simply as a semi-pristine tourist
3 destination.

4 These new tourism geographies reveal a concerted attempt to re-write
5 Morocco's imaginary and real places through the Orientalist eye – but also though
6 the mundane, rather banal expectations of a hypothetical (again, standardized and
7 Orientalized) European tourist. Nonetheless, the re-staging of the colonial for
8 the masses is not a linear process where docile travelers simply buy into official
9 rhetoric, as though visiting a fascinating *Musée Vivant* populated by equally docile
10 'locals'. On the contrary, our thesis is that the 'cultural turn' in Moroccan tourism,
11 when translated (in place) into mundane practices, often produces new spaces
12 where meaning is endlessly negotiated and where stereotyped representations and
13 performances of colonial aesthetics are challenged and sometimes even disrupted
14 by both the tourists and those who work with/for them.

15

16

17 **L'appel de Marrakech**

18

19 In 2003, two years after the launch of 'Vision 2010', Marrakech was already
20 leading the growth of mass tourism in Morocco with about 30 percent of the
21 foreign tourist revenues, and more than a quarter of total arrivals (Moujahid 2004:
22 1). According to a report released by the *Conseil Régional du Tourisme*, in 2004
23 the number of tourists in Marrakech went up by another 25 percent compared to
24 the previous year¹⁵. This trend continued in the following years (*L'Economiste*
25 01/04/2005): in 2007, Marrakech registered a record number of presences (almost
26 50 percent of the national figure), also thanks to a campaign of investments that
27 significantly increased the city's hotel capacity. The new international airport
28 – second only to Casablanca in terms of air traffic – is now a key international
29 gateway to the country, especially with the launch of new low cost connections
30 with many European cities.

31 Although these figures are seen by the authorities with a degree of optimism,
32 the final objective remains that of hosting 3.4 million tourists by 2010, in line
33 with the national plan. By 2010, Marrakech expects to open 22 new hotels,
34 30 new tourist residences and seven tourist villages, including a second *Club*
35 *Méditerranée* (Moujahid 2004: 1). In order to achieve these ambitious goals, in
36 2004 the Government launched a comprehensive project of urban renewal, whose
37 main objective is the reorganization of some key urban spaces in Marrakech
38 according to the 'cultural and touristic vocation of the city' (Borghi 2008a, 2008b).
39 Marrakech is, in fact, increasingly seen as the place where the whole country is
40 on 'display'; where all of the diverse elements that compose today's Moroccan
41 identity come together. Marrakech is presented to the tourists as the place where
42 they can encounter the materialization – that is, the confirmation – of a long series

43

44 ¹⁵ See <http://www.emarrakech.info>.

43

44

1 of Orientalist tropes about Morocco. Here, Moroccan 'culture' can be staged for 1
 2 the masses, can become reachable and manageable. The whole city, in its role of 2
 3 tourist capital, is seen as the Moroccan 'product' par excellence, an international 3
 4 brand-image for the entire country. 4

5 According to many critics, the satisfaction of the tourist gaze has become an 5
 6 absolute priority in this new grand plan of tourist development,¹⁶ a priority that in 6
 7 practical terms translates many of the city's spaces into a sort of living museum 7
 8 feeding off global images of 'the seduction of Marrakech'. Here, the tourist 8
 9 rhetoric, in its attempt to restage the colonial for the European masses, encounters 9
 10 the materiality of the city and the 'real' places where tourism is practiced and 10
 11 performed every day. This also explains the recent emphasis of the authorities 11
 12 on Morocco's 'living heritage', presented as a unique patrimony to be preserved 12
 13 (Filali 2008). 13

14 In Marrakech itself, it is an entire lifestyle that must be protected (El Faiz 14
 15 2002) – and possibly put on display. The promotion of the 'Marrakech product' is 15
 16 thus based on the assumption that 'here', real contact with the local people and real 16
 17 access to Moroccan culture is actually possible. Marrakech is presented as a city 17
 18 redolent of history, rich in monumental material witnesses of the country's grand 18
 19 past. Its world-famous square, the Jamaa el Fna becomes a metaphorical urban 19
 20 icon, a bridge between the past and the present, the place where (spectacularized) 20
 21 Moroccan tradition encounters modernity (for example the tourists and Morocco's 21
 22 new global role): 22

23
 24 Eternal as the snows on the highest peaks, imposing as the mountains of the 24
 25 High Atlas, rooted in history as the palms that fill its oases, Marrakech is the 25
 26 final touch in an image of infinite beauty. 26

27 The greatest kings have fought over it, countless noble dynasties have governed 27
 28 it, innumerable sages, artisans, architects, painters and sculptors have filled and 28
 29 embellished its stunning palaces, mosques, gardens and medersas 29

30 Marrakech: the Imperial city that gave its name to Morocco 30

31 Here, Berbers and Arabs come together, nomads and mountain dwellers descend 31
 32 to sell their crafts, artisans flourish, and it is the paradise of merchants. 32

33 Together with this, countless palaces, hotels, restaurants, golf courses, casinos: 33

34 Marrakech, the capital of the Moroccan South. 34

35 For its thousands of riches accumulated in thousands of years, for the enchantment 35
 36 of the senses, don't miss Marrakech (Brochure, ENMT). 36

37
 38 Interestingly, Marrakech is promoted through the very same images and slogans 38
 39 for both the European and Moroccan readership. The Government's campaign, 39
 40 in fact, has the double aim of improving the country's image abroad, but also 40
 41 identifying a key locus where Moroccans themselves can see the concrete and 41

42
 43 16 Although it was already in Lyautey's times, as the Protectorate's architects re- 43
 44 structured entire city quarters. 44
 45



Figure 2.7 Jamaa el Fna at the sunset (photo by Claudio Minca)

(internationally) celebrated signs of their glorious past and fascinating present culture of the country (Filali 2008). In such depictions, Marrakech is presented as the heart of the country, with the Jamaa el Fna seen as the most representative place for experiencing Moroccan cultural identity (Figure 2.7).

Marrakech, in fact, is now (as in the colonial days) also promoted as a destination for business tourism in search of sophisticated exoticism and top quality hospitality:

Only three hours of flight from key European cities, connected by both charters and regular flights, Marrakech is one of the favourite destinations of those who desire strong emotions [...] The investments of the past decade have made it the star of the Kingdom, not only the second home for countless international artists, businessmen and celebrities, but also a key destination for the international jet-set – and one of the favoured destinations for business tourism (Brochure, Conseil Régional du Tourisme de Marrakech 2008).

Marrakech is sold as the ultimate cosmopolitan outpost for those in the know:

Marrakech, an evasion in time and space. Marrakech is, without a doubt, the ‘in-city’ of Morocco, with its hotels, luxurious riads, nightclubs and innumerable events [...] A unique *cachet*, a ‘garden city’, a perfect combination between tradition and modernity (ibid.).

1 Needless to say, this marketing strategy and its material consequences (including 1
2 the rapid growth of mass tourism) have been the object of controversy. Moroccan 2
3 writer Abdelhak Serhane has strongly criticized such representations of the 'Red 3
4 City', going as far as to compare it to a prostitute, plying 'easy exoticism' to 4
5 passing tourists: 5

6
7 They have dressed her and made her up like a hooker [...] The tourists, greedy 7
8 to claim her, do so in an almost mechanical delirium. The city of Kings, now 8
9 reduced to a vulgar postcard [...]. Marrakech el Bahja [Royal Marrakech] has 9
10 become Marrakech el Hamra [Red Marrakech]. Red with shame, made-up with 10
11 the powder of lies and artifice [...] Jamaa el Fna, made-up with heavy black 11
12 eyeliner and red lipstick, gets inebriated every night to the sounds of music 12
13 brought back from the grave, and wakes up every morning a destroyed, disarrayed 13
14 Madame, with her wrinkles and failed dreams (Serhane 1999: 68–9). 14

15
16 Serhane's evokes, in many ways, the emphasis given in the crafting of the new 16
17 Morocco 'product' to the *éblouissement de sens* – the 'enchantment of the senses' 17
18 so often evoked in the tourist literature – and its heavily Orientalized (and often 18
19 feminized) representations. 19

20 In the next section, we try to highlight some of the material effects of the 20
21 new plan on the tourist colonization of the medina in Marrakech. The medina 21
22 has become, in many ways, the new frontier for the restaging of the colonial for 22
23 the masses, and it is here that the ambivalent relationship between images and 23
24 practices is most evident – but also the object of contestation/negotiation. 24

25
26

27 The Marrakech Effect 27

28
29

30 [...] The Moroccan tea ceremony is a privileged moment of the day. sharing a 30
31 tea with Moroccans gathered around their 'berrad' (teapot) is an indispensable 31
32 social ritual – and the best way of entering into contact with the culture of an 32
33 always hospitable people (ENMT Catalogue 2008: 27). 33

34
35 Returning one night following a dinner in Jamaa el Fna to the Riad¹⁷ owned by 35
36 a Venetian friend of ours, located in the heart of the Marrakech medina, we are 36
37 greeted by the beat of African drums and chanting, accompanied by applauses and 37
38 loud explosions of laughter. From the roof-top terrace of our Riad – once a space 38
39 dedicated exclusively to women's domestic activities – we soon see what the whole 39

40
41
42 17 The Riads are traditional homes located in the medina (see Figure 2.8). Most have 41
43 an internal courtyard with a series of adjoining rooms used as bedrooms or sitting rooms. 42
44 They are usually disposed on two floors and have a roof-top terrace. For a fuller description, 43
45 see Wilbaux (2001). 44



Figure 2.8 A riad in Marrakech (photo by Rachele Borghi)

fuss was about: on the terrace of a nearby Riad, a group of newly-arrived Northern Italian tourists are being ‘welcomed’ with a traditional *gnawa*¹⁸ show and an induction of sorts to Morocco, Marrakech and its medina. The performance begins with the ‘tea ceremony’ that, as the guide explains to the newcomers, ‘represents the very essence of Moroccan life and the symbol of Moroccan hospitality’. The Italian women are asked to put on turbans; the men are invited to accompany the *gnawa* performers’s drums with rhythmic hand clapping. In a crescendo of sound and excitement, the local guide (dressed in the traditional garb of desert Tuaregs) ‘explains’ Morocco, ‘land of traditions and culture’, where, tea, music and dance are ‘the heart of social life’. The Riad and the Medina are ideal sites, he tells the visitors, from which they can ‘penetrate’ an urban culture that ‘has found a balanced compromise between modernity and a life style that goes back to millenarian traditions’.

¹⁸ The *gnawa* are seen as a distinct ethnic group, descending from Black African slaves. The music of the *gnawa* ceremonies is fast and rhythmic and used to induce trance-like states. In recent years, some *gnawa* performers have achieved international acclaim among ‘world music’ fans, thanks in large part to a Festival that takes place in Essaouira every summer.

1 This is nothing particularly new, of course, for the guide's presentation is a 1
2 faithful reflection of some of the tropes that have marked official tourist rhetoric 2
3 for over a decade now. What is interesting here, however, is that the tourists, 3
4 despite appearing to be completely 'taken' by the atmosphere of the 'welcoming 4
5 ceremony', begin asking questions that are too banal to be taken seriously: 'where 5
6 does this tradition of good taste and exoticism come from?'; 'what is the typical 6
7 local dish?'; 'should we eat with our hands as the Moroccans do?' and so forth. 7
8 But even more interestingly, the visitors comment some of the staged scenes in 8
9 their local dialect (since the guide presumably understands Italian): 'this tea is 9
10 too sweet, how can they drink it?'; 'that dancer reminds me of my Moroccan 10
11 employees back in Italy'; but also, 'let's be quiet and pretend that we are interested, 11
12 otherwise the guide will take offence...'. The show continues for several hours, 12
13 with the bored performances of the *gnawa* and the increasingly blasé comments 13
14 of the guide accompanied by sexist jokes on the part of the tourists (for example, 14
15 about their wives's interest for the dancers). Suddenly, a mobile phone rings: it is a 15
16 friend from Italy, who receives a full (caricatured) description of the scene. 16
17 Now, the most intriguing aspect of this parade of banalities (and blatant 17
18 vulgarity) is that it is repeated at least twice a week. The tourists change, their 18
19 'transgressive' comments might be different according to their background and 19
20 mood, and to the chemistry of the moment. But the overall performance, as well 20
21 as the attempts to implicitly disrupt the meaning of the 'representation' (Goffman 21
22 1959) on the part of the tourists – and often on the part of the dancers and the guide 22
23 as well – is a sort of common pattern that emerged in almost all the performances 23
24 we witnessed. Twice a week, the tourists are told the same stories (and the same 24
25 jokes) and are welcomed with the same music and choreography. The extreme 25
26 standardization of the tea ceremonial and the repetitive – and therefore paradoxical 26
27 – nature of the whole performance are in fact partially 'resisted' by both the local 27
28 operators and the tourists. These latter, with their (not always) subtle comments 28
29 and jokes, in many ways banalize (and thus disrupt) the *willing suspension of* 29
30 *disbelief* that the travel experience is supposed to produce (see Minca and Oakes 30
31 2006) – and that the tourist rhetoric about Morocco promises. In other words, the 31
32 meaning of the performances of 'immemorial Moroccan culture and hospitality' 32
33 on the rooftop of the Riad is constantly negotiated and partially disrupted by 33
34 another equally important set of performances: those enacted by the disenchanted 34
35 comments of both the tourists *and* the local performers (each commenting the 35
36 scenes in their 'local' language). We can see such negotiation and disruption as 36
37 forms of re-appropriation and re-interpretation of the 'philosophy of the thing' 37
38 (Mitchell 1988; but also MacCannell 1999, 2001; Lorimer and Lund 2003) on the 38
39 part of both tourists and 'locals'; something that reveals the somewhat mundane 39
40 nature of those same practices, and that reflects a pattern of cultural exchange that 40
41 seems to be well known by all the protagonists in their respective roles – beyond 41
42 (and despite) the 'magic' of the colonial re-enactment of Moroccan culture. 42
43 Two elements are of particular relevance here: firstly, while in most tourist 43
44 representations of 'local culture', repetition and banality are paramount and are 44
45

1 presumably often disrupted by the subjects involved, at the same time this disruption 1
 2 must remained constrained within the limits that allow the whole thing to maintain 2
 3 some degree of credibility (see Goffman 1959). This threshold of ‘make believe’ 3
 4 is a rather interesting grey zone that would be worthwhile exploring in depth, but 4
 5 that is beyond the scope of this chapter (see Rojek 1996). The second element 5
 6 has to do with the ‘real’ consequences of these performances. For example, the 6
 7 growing proliferation of Riads converted into hotels or Bed and Breakfast is 7
 8 having enormous effects on the urban fabric of the medinas of Marrakech and 8
 9 of other Moroccan cities (Kurzac-Souali 2006). This proliferation is the result of 9
 10 the growing interest on the part of European tourists for staying within the old 10
 11 city itself and being able to experience the atmosphere of a traditional Arab street 11
 12 (Escher et al.. 2001a, 2001b, 2004). In Marrakech, the so called *maisons d’hotes* 12
 13 (as some converted Riads are called – see Chebbak 2004, Saigh Boustia 2004a), 13
 14 have mushroomed, spurred by the European fascination for the ‘magic’ of the 14
 15 medina: 15

16 16
 17 Riads have brought back an art of living that the Moroccan people themselves 17
 18 have half forgotten. Windowless walls, in featureless side-streets conceal 18
 19 paradises to be discovered with over-growing wonder, leafy patios, fountains, 19
 20 birdsong, terraces where life is for the living and which offer stunning views of 20
 21 the medina and its minarets and, in the distance, the snowy peaks of the Atlas 21
 22 mountains (<http://www.ilove-marrakesh.com/lesriads>). 22
 23 23

24 With their location in the heart of the medina, Riads offer the new ‘cultural’ 24
 25 tourists a luxurious, ‘comprehensive experience of Moroccan life’ – and access to 25
 26 spaces that are normally impenetrable: ‘Riads evoke the idea of a secret world ; 26
 27 they allow the foreigner that inhabits them to feel the thrill of discovering [...] 27
 28 and perhaps even experiencing a small part of this magical, enigmatic place, the 28
 29 universe of a Thousand and One Nights’ (Saigh Boustia 2004b: 159). 29

30 The partial gentrification of the medinas of some of the main Moroccan cities 30
 31 (Tangiers, Rabat, Fes, Essaouira) reflects a tendency towards the rapid colonization 31
 32 of traditional urban spaces on the part of a new and powerful colonial aesthetic 32
 33 that is very often at the origin of much controversy, but that appears, at present 33
 34 at least, irresistible (Chebbak 2004, De Graincourt and Duboy 2002). With few 34
 35 exceptions, the Riads are designed and decorated in order to (re)create an Oriental 35
 36 ambiance and a sumptuous lifestyle, often in sharp contrast with the poverty 36
 37 and the decay of the surrounding neighborhood. Escher and Paternmann (2001) 37
 38 suggest, indeed, that many foreigners staying in Riads enjoy the sophisticated 38
 39 ‘colonial atmosphere’ that emanates from every single detail of the hospitality 39
 40 provided. The ‘aristocratization’ of some protected spots in the medina and the 40
 41 development of cultural tourism focused on ‘*l’art de vivre marocain*’ in some of 41
 42 the most deprived parts of the city are, unsurprisingly, the subject of much local 42
 43 controversy (see Kurzac-Souali 2007a, 2007b). The tourist authorities are often 43
 44 accused of encouraging the gentrification and the progressive repossession of 44

1 what is seen as a fundamental part of Moroccan urban patrimony – and a heritage 1
2 to be protected from the impact of tourism. 2

3 The restaging of the colonial for the masses is therefore fast becoming a 3
4 highly relevant issue, here as in other parts of Morocco, reflecting in many ways 4
5 a more general trend toward the aesthetization of the tourist experience. It also 5
6 reveals, however, a parallel banalization of the cultural practices produced by 6
7 the attempted massification of ‘cultural’ tourism – again, something particularly 7
8 evident in Marrakech. 8

9 In the past few years, a growing literature (mainly in French and German) has 9
10 analyzed the effects of the new fashion for Riads and its consequences on the local 10
11 population. On the one hand, the purchase of Riads on the part of foreign investors 11
12 is seen as an important factor in the rehabilitation of the built environment, having 12
13 had some positive effects in terms of job creation and the survival of traditional 13
14 craftsmanship, although further important measures need to be taken if the 14
15 patrimony of the medina is to be protected.¹⁹ Some, however, are less positive 15
16 about the impacts of this new trend. Boudjafad (2005), for one, argues that this 16
17 is a ‘market’ whose economic effects are often far-removed from the city, with 17
18 accommodation normally paid for in advance – and often to foreign intermediaries. 18
19 Marrakech based scholar Kurzac-Souali (2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 19
20 2007c), who has extensively studied this phenomenon, has highlighted how the 20
21 emergence of new urban dynamics, coupled with the modification of existing 21
22 urban cultures, has produced distinct ways of inhabiting the spaces of the medina: 22
23 that of the autochthones, that of the new European residents, and that of the tourists 23
24 (although these last two categories are very often confused by the local population 24
25 – see Saigh Bousta 2004a). These different ways of inhabiting and experiencing 25
26 the spaces of the medina have also been accompanied, however, by new processes 26
27 of spatial fragmentation and residential segregation: 27

28 28
29 The new inhabitants of the medina have transformed the built environment of 29
30 certain neighbourhoods. Their arrival has also transformed, however, the social 30
31 composition of some areas [with the emergence of] cosmopolitan quarters 31
32 highly unequal in terms of income. [...] Although there appears to be a new 32
33 social “mix” in the medina, it is a transitory, ephemeral one, hiding significant 33
34 spatial segregation whose long-term effects must be taken into consideration 34
35 [...] The “requalification” of old neighbourhoods has reinforced, in fact, socio- 35
36 spatial and residential segregation [...] encouraging the emergence of a ‘two- 36
37 speed’ medina (Kurzac-Souali 2005a) 37
38 38

39 What is fast becoming evident in the case of Marrakech is the emergence of a 39
40 highly fragmented space, where gentrified areas of ‘tourist value’ rub shoulders 40
41 with densely populated poor quarters (mainly in the north and the east of the 41
42 medina) (Borghi et al.. 2007). As Benzine (2000) notes, what emerges here is 42

43 43
44 19 See the recent debates on *L'économiste* and *La Vie Touristique*. 44
45 45

1 a conception of urban management that increasingly reinforces the dichotomy 1
 2 between economically viable spaces/heritage – and those that are ‘useless’, or at 2
 3 least not easily marketable. 3

4 Recent research by Saigh Boustia (2004b) reveals, nonetheless, that a sizable 4
 5 proportion of residents in the medina believe that the presence of foreigners 5
 6 brings positive effects, at least in terms of the quality of the urban environment 6
 7 and the creation of new jobs. Her study also highlights, however, concerns about 7
 8 skyrocketing house prices, lack of regulation (or at least respect of existing 8
 9 regulation) in renovation, but also the sexual behaviour of some tourists staying in 9
 10 the Riads. These concerns are unsurprising, given the rapid changes in the urban 10
 11 fabric. What is interesting, however, is that the most virulent condemnations of this 11
 12 phenomenon actually come from *outside* the medina. According to Kurzac-Souali 12
 13 (2007a: 87), the most significant criticism towards the progressive ‘Westernization’ 13
 14 of the Medina has come from the national media and, more generally, from middle 14
 15 class Moroccans that in most cases no longer live in the medina themselves, but 15
 16 are concerned about the loss of a key site for the reproduction and preservation of 16
 17 a ‘truly Moroccan’ urban tradition. We do not have the space here to comment on 17
 18 this important debate, or its protagonists. What must be noted, however (following 18
 19 Kurzac-Souali – but also the work of Saigh Boustia), is that we cannot take for 19
 20 granted that the tourist ‘colonization’ of the medina is perceived only as a threat 20
 21 – nor can we presume to speak for the medina’s residents without some robust 21
 22 enquiry into the impact of tourist practices (in place). 22

23 23
 24 24
 25 **Reasserting the Re-staging** 25
 26 26

27 According to Saigh Boustia (2004b), 57 percent of the residents interviewed declared 27
 28 that the gentrification of the medina was a ‘good thing’ for the urban environment 28
 29 as a whole, with 47 percent noting that it helped improve the ‘tranquility’ of 29
 30 their neighbourhood, 27 percent that it improved its ‘safety’, and 20 percent 30
 31 that it was important for the preservation of its ‘architectural patrimony’. These 31
 32 survey results do not, of course, sum up all of the effects of the restaging of the 32
 33 colonial in Marrakech. What they hint at, however, is something that we believe 33
 34 is particularly important for the central argument of this chapter: the new forms of 34
 35 mass cultural tourism that are becoming increasingly important in Marrakech and 35
 36 elsewhere in Morocco represent a highly complex phenomenon, and cannot be 36
 37 analysed simply through a deconstruction of the neo-colonial imaginary they rely 37
 38 upon, or an a priori rejection of whatever social and cultural changes mass tourism 38
 39 generates. Existing studies and our own fieldwork in the medina of Marrakech 39
 40 show, if anything, that a different type of scrutiny is required. Such scrutiny needs 40
 41 to engage, case by case, with both the representations that help craft the material 41
 42 restaging of the colonial for the masses – and the tourist practices linked to those 42
 43 very representations (on this see Franklin and Crang 2001). It also must engage, 43
 44 however, with the ways in which such representations and practices are perceived 44

1 and re-staged by the residents and by those who work for and with the tourists. This 1
 2 chapter, therefore, does not claim to provide any broad generalizations regarding 2
 3 the impact of the restaging of the colonial in contemporary Morocco. We have 3
 4 simply tried to critically engage with a discursive formation (and a specific set 4
 5 of practices) that has gained extraordinary currency on the Moroccan cultural 5
 6 and political scene, and that reveals the extraordinary resilience of the colonial 6
 7 aesthetic. The colonial restaging for the masses, nonetheless, is subject to endless 7
 8 re-interpretation that translates, quite literally, into ever new geographies. What 8
 9 we hope that this chapter has helped highlight is that such geographies are, on 9
 10 the one hand, the outcome of the practical enactments of the discursive formation 10
 11 that we have named here as '*L'appel du Maroc*' on the part of the Moroccan 11
 12 authorities and European tour operators, in order to produce and structure 'real 12
 13 and imagined' tourist spatialities. On the other hand, however, such geographies 13
 14 are also the expression of a series of practices on the part of the tourists and the 14
 15 residents who come into contact with them: it is these endless encounters, in place, 15
 16 that give life to a fascinating (and only partially explored) set of interpretations 16
 17 and performances, within which the official tourist rhetoric is at the same time 17
 18 confirmed and transgressed. It is in specific sites, we argue, that representations 18
 19 and practices merge; and it is there, we would like to suggest, that we have to 19
 20 'redirect our gaze' in order grasp the 'deeper meaning' of the real and imagined 20
 21 tourist experience of Morocco. 21

22

23

24 **References**

25

26 Baehrenholdt, J.O., Hadrup M., Larsen J., and Urry, J. 2004. *Performing Tourist* 26
 27 *Places*. Aldershot: Ashgate. 27

28 Barthou, L. 1930. *Lyautey et le Maroc*. Paris: Petit Parisien. 28

29 Bauchet, J. 1954. Le Casinò. *Perspectives d'Outre Mer: Notre Maroc*, 1(13), 43– 29
 30 4. 30

31 Bélanger, C.E. and Sarrasin, B. 1996. *Développement et Tourisme au Maroc*. 31
 32 Paris: L'Harmattan. 32

33 Benoist-Mechin, J. 2007. *Lyautey l'Africain, ou le Rêve Immolé (1854–1934)*. 33
 34 Paris: Perrin. 34

35 Benzine, H. 2000. *Schéma Directeur d'Assainissement Solide du Grand* 35
 36 *Marrakech. Les Marrakechis face à leurs déchets*, PhD Thesis, DESS, 36
 37 Université Muhammed V, Rabat. 37

38 Berriane, M. 2003. Bilan sur le tourisme marocain. *Proceedings of the Rencontre* 38
 39 *internationale de Fes 'Patrimoine et development durable des centres* 39
 40 *historiques urbains*'. Rabat: UNESCO. 40

41 Birkeland I. 2005. *Making Place, Making Self*. Aldershot: Ashgate. 41

42 Bissell W. C. 2005. Engaging colonial nostalgia. *Cultural Anthropology*, 20(2), 42
 43 215–48. 43

44

45

- 1 Boëhm, B. 1993. Arts et séductions: synthèse, in *Images et colonies*, edited by P. 1
2 Blanchard and A. Chatelier. Paris: Syros-Achac. 2
- 3 Borghi, R. 2004. Dove finisce l'altra sponda? Tra Mediterraneo e 'marocchinità' 3
4 attraverso il turismo culturale di Marrakech, in *Orizzonte Mediterraneo*, edited 4
5 by C. Minca. Padova: Cedam. 5
- 6 Borghi, R. 2008a. *Geografia, Postcolonialismo e Costruzione delle Identità: Una 6*
7 *lettura dello Spazio Urbano di Marrakech*. Milan: Unicopli. 7
- 8 Borghi, R. 2008b. La mise en scène de la ville: regard sur l'espace urbain de 8
9 Marrakech coloniale et postcoloniale, in *Le fait colonial au Maghrèb*, edited 9
10 by N. Maarouf. Paris: L'Harmattan. 10
- 11 Borghi, R. and Minca C. 2003. Le lieu, la place, l'imaginaire: discours colonial 11
12 et littérature dans la description de la Jamaa el Fna, Marrakech. *Expressions* 12
13 *Maghrebins*, 1(2), 155–74. 13
- 14 Borghi, R., Lando F. and Senn M. 2007. Aménagement touristique et transformation 14
15 de l'espace urbaine: les risques du développement du secteur à travers le cas 15
16 comparé de Venise et Marrakech', in *Aménagement du territoire et risques* 16
17 *environnementaux au Maroc*, edited by B. Akdim and M. Laaouane. Fez: 17
18 Publications de l'Université Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah. 18
- 19 Boudjafad, S. 2005. Descente dans les maisons d'hôtes. *Aujourd'hui Le Maroc*, 19
20 24 March. 20
- 21 Cattedra, R. 1990. Nascita e primi sviluppi di una città coloniale: Casablanca, 21
22 1907–1930. *Storia Urbana*, 53, 127–79. 22
- 23 Chebbak, M. 2004. Maisons d'hôtes: un avar orientaliste. *Architecture du Maroc*, 23
24 17, 29–30. 24
- 25 Clément, J.F. 1994. Lyautey à Marrakech. *Horizons Maghrebins*, 23/24, 15–22. 25
- 26 Coleman, S. and Crang, M. 2002a. *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*. 26
27 New York: Berghahn Books. 27
- 28 Compagnie des Chemins de Fer au Maroc. 1921. *Hotels et gites d'étape*. Rabat: 28
29 Africaines. 29
- 30 Crang, M. 1999. Knowing, tourism and practices of vision, in *Leisure/Tourism* 30
31 *Geographies*, edited by D. Crouch. London: Routledge, 238–57. 31
- 32 Crang, M. 2003. Qualitative methods: touchy, feely, look-see? *Progress in Human* 32
33 *Geography*, 27(4), 494–504. 33
- 34 Crang, M. 2004. Cultural geographies of tourism, in *Companion of Tourism* 34
35 *Geography*, edited by A. Lew, M. Hall and A. Williams. Oxford: Blackwell, 35
36 74–84. 36
- 37 Crang, M. 2006. Circulation and emplacement: the hollowed out performance of 37
38 tourism, in *Travels in Paradox: Remapping Tourism*, edited by C. Minca and 38
39 T. Oakes. Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, 47–64. 39
- 40 Crouch, D. 2004. Tourist Practices and Performances, in *Companion of Tourism* 40
41 *Geography*, edited by A. Lew, M. Hall and A. Williams. Oxford: Blackwell, 41
42 85–96. 42
43 43
44 44

- 1 Crouch, D. 2005. Flirting with space: tourism geographies as sensuous/expressive 1
2 practice, in *Seductions of Place*, edited by C. Cartier and A. Lew. London: 2
3 Routledge, 23–34. 3
- 4 Daoud, A. 2001. Dans les coulisses des assises. *Le Temps du Maroc*, 272, 28–9. 4
- 5 De Amicis, E. 1913. *Marocco*. Milan: Fratelli Treves. 5
- 6 De Foucauld, C. 1883. *Reconnaissance au Maroc*. Paris: Challamel. 6
- 7 De Graincourt, M. and Duboy, A. 2002. Riads, l’irresistible attrait. *Medina*, 9, 7
8 71–84. 8
- 9 Delacroix, E. 1893. *Journal*. Paris: Plon. 9
- 10 Delacroix, E. 1999. *Souvenirs d’un voyage dans le Maroc*. Paris: Gallimard. 10
- 11 Département du Tourisme. 2001. *Le secteur touristique: Statistiques 2000*. Rabat: 11
12 Direction de la Planification et de la Coordination de la Promotion. 12
- 13 Doury, P. 2002. *Lyautey*. Paris: L’Harmattan. 13
- 14 Dugard, H. 1918. *Le Maroc de 1918*. Paris: Payot. 14
- 15 Edensor, T. 2001. Performing tourism, staging tourism: (re)producing tourist space 15
16 and practice. *Tourist Studies*, 1(1), 59–81. 16
- 17 Edensor, T. 2006. Sensing tourism spaces, in *Travels in Paradox: Remapping* 17
18 *Tourism*, edited by C. Minca and T. Oakes. Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, 18
19 23–46. 19
- 20 El Amrani, N. 2001. L’art de communiquer avec l’autre. *Le Temps du Maroc*, 272, 20
21 26–7. 21
- 22 El Faiz, M. 2002. *Marrakech, Patrimoine en Péril*. Paris and Rabat: Acte Sud and 22
23 Eddif. 23
- 24 Enjeux, A. 1993. Dossier tourisme, la reprise? *Le magazine de l’Entreprise et de* 24
25 *l’Economie*, October, 57. 25
- 26 Escher, A., Petermann S. and Clos B. 2001a. Le bradage de la médina de 26
27 Marrakech?, in *Le Maroc à l’heure du troisième millénaire - Défis, changes* 27
28 *et risques d’un développement durable*. edited by Berriane and Kagermeier. 28
29 Rabat: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et de Sciences Humaines de 29
30 Rabat. 30
- 31 Escher, A., Petermann S. and Clos B. 2001b. Gentrification in der Medina von 31
32 Marrakech. *Geographische Rundschau*, 53(6), 24–31. 32
- 33 Escher, A.J. and Petermann S. 2001. Neo-colonialism or gentrification in the 33
34 medina of Marrakech. *ISIM NEWSLETTER*, 5, 34. 34
- 35 Filali, J. 2000. Pour un environnement prophylactique. *Marrakech Informations* 35
36 164, 10. 36
- 37 Franco, G. 1996. Le pays, in *Aimer le Maroc. Monde et voyages*, edited by J. 37
38 Bonhomme-Penet and O. Dénommée. Paris: Larousse. 38
- 39 Franklin A. and Crang, M. 2001. The trouble with tourism and travel theory? 39
40 *Tourism Studies*, 1(1), 5–22. 40
- 41 Galissot, R. 1999. *Le Tourisme au Maroc: Notes*. Casablanca: Direction des 41
42 relations économiques extérieures. 42
- 43 Goffman, E. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday 43
44 & Company. 44
45

- 1 Gregory D. 2001. Colonial nostalgia and cultures of travel: spaces of constructed
2 visibility in Egypt, in *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage*, edited
3 by N. Al Sayyad. London: Routledge, 111–151. 3
- 4 Henderson C. and Weisgrau, M. 2007. *Raj Rapsodies: Tourism, Heritage and the*
5 *Seduction of History*. Aldershot: Ashgate. 5
- 6 Hillali, M. 2005. *La Politique du Tourisme au Maroc*. Paris: L'Harmattan. 6
- 7 Hillali, M. 2007. Du tourisme et de la géopolitique au Maghreb: le cas du Maroc.
8 *Hérodote*, 127, 47–63. 8
- 9 Hoisington, W.A. 1995. *Lyautey and the French Conquest of Morocco*. New York:
10 St.Martin's Press. 10
- 11 Kurzac-Souali, A.C. 2005a. La revalorization de la médina dans l'espace urbain au
12 Maroc. Un espace urbain revisité par les élites et le tourisme', in *Villes réelles,*
13 *villes projetées. Fabrication de la ville au Maghreb*, edited by Boumaza et al..
14 Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 377–390. 14
- 15 Kurzac-Souali, A.C. 2005b. Ces riads qui venedent du reve, patrimonialisation
16 et segregation en medina, in *Habiter le patrimoine. Enjeux, approches, vecu*,
17 edited by in M. Gravari-Barbas. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes,
18 467–478. 18
- 19 Kurzac-Souali, A.C. 2006. *Les Medinas Marocaines: une Requalification*
20 *Selective. Elite, Patrimoine et Mondialisation du Maroc*, PhD theses, University
21 of Paris IV Sorbonne, Paris. 21
- 22 Kurzac-Souali, A.C. 2007a. Rumeurs et cohabitation en médina de Marrakech:
23 l'étranger ou on ne l'attendait pas. *Hérodote*, 127, 64–88. 23
- 24 Kurzac-Souali, A.C. 2007b. La médina vue par ses nouveaux habitants:
25 représentations et usages d'une citadinité retrouvée. *Le Cahiers d'Al Omrane*. 25
- 26 Kurzac-Souali, A.C. 2007c. Engouement mediatique et reconquete dea maisons
27 traditionnelles au Maroc. *Espace et Culture*. 27
- 28 Laprade, A. 1934. *Lyautey urbaniste. Souvenirs d'un Témoin*. Paris: Horizons de
29 France. 29
- 30 Lorimer, H. and Lund, K. 2003. Performing facts: finding a way over Scotland's
31 mountains, in *Nature Performed: Environment, Culture and Performance*,
32 edited by B. Szerszynski and Waterton. Oxford: Blackwell, 130–144. 32
- 33 Loti, P. 1988 (first edition 1889). *Au Maroc*. Paris: La Boîte à Documents. 33
- 34 Lozato-Giotart, J.P. 2008. *Géographie du Tourisme : de l'Espace Consommé à*
35 *l'Espace Maîtrisé* Paris: Pearson Education. 35
- 36 Lozato-Giotart, J.P. 1991. *Le Maroc*. Paris: Karthala. 36
- 37 Lyautey, L.G.H. 1918. *Les Guides Bleus. Maroc*, Paris: Hachette. 37
- 38 Lyautey, L.G.H. 1995 (first edition 1927). *Paroles d'action*. Paris: Editions la
39 Porte. 39
- 40 MacCannell, D. 1999. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York:
41 Schoken. 41
- 42 MacCannell, D. 2001. Tourist agency. *Tourism Studies*, 1(1), 23–38. 42
- 43 43
- 44 44

- 1 Mahr, K. 2007. In colonial nostalgia a seed of democracy? *Time Magazine*, 10 1
- 2 May. Available at [http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1619291,00.](http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1619291,00.html) 2
- 3 html. 3
- 4 Maurois, A. 1931. *Lyautey*. Paris: Plon. 4
- 5 Minca, C. 2006. Re-inventing the 'square': postcolonial geographies and the tourist 5
- 6 gaze in Jamaa el Fna, Marrakech, in *Travels in Paradox: Remapping Tourism*, 6
- 7 edited by C. Minca and T. Oakes. Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littelfield, 155– 7
- 8 184. 8
- 9 Minca, C. and Oakes, T. (2006), 'Introduction: Travelling Paradoxes', in Minca, 9
- 10 C. and Oakes, T. (eds.), *Travels in Paradox: Remapping Tourism* (Boulder, 10
- 11 CO: Rowman & Littelfield). 11
- 12 Mitchell, T. 1988. *Colonizing Egypt*. Berkeley, CA: University of California 12
- 13 Press. 13
- 14 Mitchell, W.J.T. 2005. *What do Pictures Want?* Chicago: Chicago University 14
- 15 Press. 15
- 16 Morton, P. 2000. *Hybrid Modernities*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 16
- 17 Moujahid, M. 2004. Un fort potentiel touristique et une vocation agricole malgré 17
- 18 tout. *La Vie Economique*, 26 march–1 april, 47. 18
- 19 Mouline, S. 1993. *Repères de la Mémoire. Marrakech*. Rabat: Ministère de 19
- 20 l'Habitat. 20
- 21 Mourad, K. 1994. *Marrakech et la Mamounia*. Paris: ACR. 21
- 22 Oakes, T. 2005. Tourism and the modern subject: placing the encounter between 22
- 23 tourist and other, in *Seductions of Place*, edited by C. Cartier and A. Lew. 23
- 24 London: Routledge, 36, 54. 24
- 25 Oakes, T. 2006. Get real! On being yourself and being a tourist', in *Travels in* 25
- 26 *Paradox: Remapping Tourism*, edited by C. Minca and T. Oakes. Boulder, CO: 26
- 27 Rowman & Littelfield, 229–250. 27
- 28 Peleggi, M. 2005. Consuming colonial nostalgia: The monumentalization of 28
- 29 historic hotels in urban South-East Asia. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 46(3), 255– 29
- 30 65. 30
- 31 Potier, N. 2006. *Dix-Sept regards sur le Maroc*. Casablanca: EDDIF. 31
- 32 Rivet, D. 1980. Lyautey l'Africain. *Histoire*, decembre, 29, 16–24. 32
- 33 Rivet, D. 1984. Exotisme et 'penetration scientifique': l'effort de découverte du 33
- 34 Maroc par les Français au début du XX siècle, in *Connaissance du Maghreb.* 34
- 35 *Sciences Sociales et Colonisation*, edited by J.C. Vatin et al.. Parigi: CNRS. 35
- 36 Rivet, D. 1984. Exotisme et 'penetration scientifique': l'effort de découverte du 36
- 37 Maroc par les Français au début du XX siècle, in *Connaissance du Maghreb.* 37
- 38 *Sciences Sociales et colonisation*, edited by J.C. Vatin. Paris: CNRS. 38
- 39 Rivet, D. 1988. *Lyautey et l'Institution du Protectorat Français au Maroc*. Paris: 39
- 40 L'Harmattan. 40
- 41 Rivet, D. 2002. *Le Maghreb à l'Épreuve de la olonisation*. Paris: Hachette. 41
- 42 Rojek, C. 1996. *Decentring Leisure*. London : SAGE. 42
- 43 Rondeau, D. 2000. *L'Appel du Maroc*. Paris: Flammarion. 43
- 44 Rosaldo, R. 1989. Imperialist nostalgia. *Representations*, 26, 107–22. 44

45

- 1 Saigh Boustia, R. 2004a. Le phénomène Ryad maison-d'hôte, esquisse d'une 1
2 réflexion sur l'immersion culturelle du tourisme dans l'espace traditionnel 2
3 des autochtones', in *Le tourisme durable*, edited by R. Saigh Boustia and F. 3
4 Albertini. Marrakech: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines. 4
- 5 Saigh Boustia, R. 2004b. Voisinage des Ryad maison-d'hôte dans la medina de 5
6 Marrakech. Résultat d'une enquête réalisée en mars 2003, in *Communication* 6
7 *Interculturelle, Patrimoine et Tourisme*, edited by R. Saigh Boustia. Marrakech: 7
8 Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines. 8
- 9 Secrétariat d'état au Plan, Royaume du Maroc Royaume du Maroc, Haute 9
10 Commissariat au plan 2005. *Point de Conjoncture de l'INAC*. Rabat: Institut 10
11 National d'Analyse de la Conjoncture. 11
- 12 Turco, A. 1995. Delacroix in Morocco: indagine sull'altrove. *Terra d'Africa*,4, 12
13 315–53. 13
- 14 Venier, P. 1997. *Lyautey avant Lyautey*. Paris: L'Harmattan. 14
- 15 Weisweiler, E. 1932. Marrakech, cité d'hivernage, in *Congrès International de* 15
16 *l'Urbanisme aux Colonies et dans les pays tropicaux*, edited by R. Jean. La 16
17 Charité-sur-Loire: Delaunay. 17
- 18 Wharton, E. 2003. *In Morocco*. London: I.B. Tauris. 18
- 19 Wilbaux, Q. 2001. *La medina de Marrakech*. Paris: L'Harmattan. 19
20 20
21 21
22 22
23 23
24 24
25 25
26 26
27 27
28 28
29 29
30 30
31 31
32 32
33 33
34 34
35 35
36 36
37 37
38 38
39 39
40 40
41 41
42 42
43 43
44 44

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44

Chapter 3

Banal Tourism? Between
Cosmopolitanism and Orientalism

Michael Haldrup

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44

12 Introduction: Routing Cosmopolitanism and Tourism

Do increased leisure travel and tourism lead to increased awareness of global connectedness and interdependencies or does it simply reinforce hegemonic orientalist scripts about Western superiority by transforming the globe into one big warehouse for the wealthy and (presumably) Western consumer. This is a normative concern that has haunted most theories of tourism from the beginning. In his history of vacation Orvar Löfgren captures this ambivalence of cosmopolitanism and orientalism in contemporary mass tourism by claiming that '[V]acationing carries an emancipatory potential' (1999: 269).

At times new forms of mass tourism hold out the hope of changing the world, turning locals into cosmopolitans, breaking down artificial boundaries between nations, localities, classes, or generations – creating global communities. But moving out can also be a way of staying the same. While the skills of becoming a cosmopolitan can be important cultural capital for some, they don't work for others. Tourism can both open and close the mind (Löfgren 1999: 269–70).

While tourist theories generally have approached tourism in terms of consuming cultural difference the way tourist performances and experiences tie into people's everyday life has traditionally received less attention. In this article I show how tourist performances and experiences are an important part of the ways people position themselves in and as part of the world. Tourism is an important part of what has been called 'banal cosmopolitanism'. Thus, Beck has argued that the increased day-to-day experience of the global through consumption, media and so on produces a 'global cosmopolitanism! That whether it is reflexive or not transform the experiential spheres of life worlds enforcing a globalization of emotions and empathy' (Beck 2004: 151–2)

In continuation of this I will argue that tourist performances and experiences is a significant vehicle for the emergence of cosmopolitan orientations in everyday life. It is when we are performing tourism that we are most likely to achieve firsthand experience with other places, people and cultures and experience our connectedness with these. Thus, tourism may be viewed as a social, cultural

1 and material field that enables and shape different modes of attachment to and 1
2 detachment from places, cultures and people; different modes of belonging in 2
3 the world; hence we may conceive of tourism as a way of positioning oneself 3
4 in the world; of producing and reproducing the everyday geographies of 'banal 4
5 cosmopolitanism'. 5

6 One of the reasons why these everyday geographies of tourist performances 6
7 have received little attention is that tourism theory has been caught up in a 7
8 representational that has left the mundane and banal aspects of tourism has often 8
9 been left out of analytical sight. By emphasizing the importance of mundane 9
10 banalities for the study of tourism performances, the purpose of this article 10
11 is not to banalize tourism as has been done so often in social theory but to call 11
12 attention to the 'banal' ways in which tourist performances produce, reproduce 12
13 and make use of distinctions, relations and roles that tie into much broader politics 13
14 and performances of everyday life. This significance of 'banalities' in tourism 14
15 has especially been acknowledged by turn towards embodiment, materiality and 15
16 performance in current writings on tourism. Whereas much earlier literature have 16
17 been dominated by a 'representational' paradigm, focusing the analytical gaze on 17
18 the symbolic and discursive aspects of tourism recent accounts of tourism in social 18
19 and cultural studies have sought to dislocate attention from symbolic meanings 19
20 and discourses (which dominated much earlier studies of tourism) to embodied, 20
21 collaborative and technologized doings and enactments (Haldrup and Larsen 21
22 2006). 22

23 This turn towards theories of performance and performativity in tourist studies 23
24 has in important ways challenged and contested fixed readings of tourist spaces 24
25 by making ethnographies of what humans, institutions and non-humans do – 25
26 enact and stage – in order to make tourism and performances happen. Tourism 26
27 performances are surely choreographed by concrete guidance and cultural scripts, 27
28 but tourists are not just written upon, they also enact and inscribe space with their 28
29 own 'stories'. Like this, tourists carry quotidian habits and responses with them: 29
30 they are part of their baggage and even the most 'exotic' tourist places afford 30
31 stages for enacting the most 'intimate' and banal aspects of our life worlds (on this 31
32 see Haldrup and Larsen 2003). However, tourist sites are also a staging ground 32
33 for enacting the 'banal' identities and cultural stories are enacted. Rather than 33
34 transcending the mundane, most forms of tourism are fashioned by culturally 34
35 coded escape attempts. Not only do tourists bring their own bodies, their loved 35
36 ones and their quotidian habits: they also bring the cultural stories in which their 36
37 lives are immersed. Tourist places, such as the beach, the club, the promenade 37
38 along the coast, are stages on which cultural stereotypes related to gender and 38
39 ages are certainly enacted. Not least ethnic, national and regional stereotypes are 39
40 continually being played out in the packaging and selling of 'local cultures' to 40
41 tourists, as tourist bring preferences for particular imaginaries, settings, foods and 41
42 so on with them. Billig (1995) coined the notion of 'banal nationalism', and tourist 42
43 places are indeed places that are often penetrated by signs, symbols and set pieces 43
44 affording banal nationalism to be enacted. Other tourists's ethnic and national 44

1 belonging are eagerly analysed and compared with ones own, which literally may 1
 2 be flagged by way of national flags on top of sandcastles or handkerchiefs, bath 2
 3 towels and blankets in the national colours displayed on the beach or by the pool 3
 4 side (see also Löfgreen 1999: 260 ff). Spectacular settings afford tourists with the 4
 5 performative spaces onto which his/her desires for example playing with quasi- 5
 6 colonial kitsch can be projected and resorts offer familiar 'national' moorings 6
 7 in the 'exotic' sea, as when English pubs or Scandinavian restaurants are being 7
 8 designed as 'second homes' for the golden hordes from the North (Turner and Ash 8
 9 1975). At the same time photographs, souvenirs purchased on vacation decorates 9
 10 family homes and in doing this 'colonizes' the times and spaces of non-tourist 10
 11 everyday life. 11

12 In this way, tourist performances and experiences feed into the more general 12
 13 fabric of mundane everyday life banalities. Objects, signs, narratives, foods, clothes 13
 14 that produce tourist places are themselves circulating just like the 'tourist' objects, 14
 15 images and so on that decorates houses, bodies, shelves and so at 'home'. Such 15
 16 circulating objects and images connect the 'exotic' setting for tourist performances 16
 17 with the spheres of 'home'. However they may do so in unpredictable ways. The 17
 18 performative spaces of tourism are not only effects of encounters between 'naked' 18
 19 bodies and material landscapes, they are also inscribed with pre-existing cultural 19
 20 stories, memories, norms, fantasies, family networks, (post)colonial relations 20
 21 and commodity chains, and haunted by war and terror. These are not necessarily 21
 22 'present' in place but they have effects in place. They circulate, they move and 22
 23 their meanings may change through a variety of local contexts when they are 23
 24 circulated across the globe as consumer goods or 'global news'. In doing this they 24
 25 may even act back on the viewer, on the tourist that encounter their effects in his 25
 26 holiday setting. An illustrative example of this was the publication of a series of 26
 27 cartoons of the prophet Muhammad in a Danish (regional) newspaper in autumn 27
 28 2005 which travelled along diasporic ethnoscares as well as the mediascapes 28
 29 of global news corporations causing local protests in several Muslim countries; 29
 30 riots that in turn produced local events such as the burning of Danish flags (West 30
 31 Bank, Palestine), buildings (Damascus, Syria) and calls for death penalties over 31
 32 the cartoonists and responsible editors (Pakistan) and through images, stories and 32
 33 newspaper headlined travelled back along the same scapes and flows to the North 33
 34 European context causing massive reductions in tourist travel to countries such as 34
 35 Turkey and Egypt. The number of Danish tourists booking a package tour to these 35
 36 countries halved, and the tourism industry blamed the newspaper, the cartoonist and 36
 37 the 'political climate' in Denmark. Thus the tourism industry in Turkey and other 37
 38 Muslim countries was affected negatively by a faraway event that was supposed to 38
 39 be a 'local' (yet distasteful) joke but ended up being 'global news'. Incidents such as 39
 40 this in which political events 'at home' circulate along unpredictable routes ending 40
 41 up acting back at the viewers from 'away' reminds us that tourism is a culture of 41
 42 circulation and connections. In the words of Appadurai such cultures 'transgress 42
 43 the boundaries of home and away, well-known and imagined, by creating specific 43
 44 irregularities because both viewers and images are in simultaneous in circulation. 44
 45

1 Neither images nor viewers fit into circuits of audiences that are easily bound 1
 2 within local, national or regional spaces' (Appadurai 1999: 4). 2

3 Moreover, such circuits also break down the barrier between the known and 3
 4 the fantasized. As Appadurai puts it: 'imagination is today a staging ground for 4
 5 action and not only for escape' (1999: 7). Like, other cultures in motion tourism 5
 6 is part of networks and circuits that are not easily located within national, local 6
 7 or regional spaces but encompass both localized performances in place as well 7
 8 as global processes. Indeed such circuits are constituent for the emergence of 8
 9 contemporary cultures of 'banal cosmopolitanism'. By being caught up in the 9
 10 circuits of such 'banal cosmopolitanism' tourism performances do not afford 10
 11 places and practices detached from the practices, social relations or cultural 11
 12 stories we 'normally' engage with. While the turn towards performance in the 12
 13 tourist literature surely has destabilized static and fixed conceptions of places and 13
 14 sites it has not sufficiently grasped the networked mobilities of objects, images, 14
 15 texts and technologies that permit tourism performances to take place and to be 15
 16 represented and (re)circulated across often great distances at various sites and 16
 17 times. While recognizing that localized tourism performances are framed by and 17
 18 draw upon global flows (of stories, objects, people, images, materials and so on), 18
 19 most ethnographies of tourism performances have not departed from the idea 19
 20 that 'ethnographies' take place within bounded sites. James Clifford famously 20
 21 (1997) argued that ethnography needed to leave behind its preoccupation with 21
 22 discovering the 'roots' of cultural and social forms and instead trace the 'routes' 22
 23 that produce and reproduce them. Taking inspiration from this I will argue that 23
 24 the 'banal cosmopolitanism' of tourist performances and experiences need to be 24
 25 'routed' in order to grasp emerging cosmopolitan orientations in contemporary 25
 26 everyday life. This means that we need to trace out the routes that tie together 26
 27 the contexts 'at home' and 'away' in contemporary tourism and – especially how 27
 28 tourist performances tie into the ways we position ourselves as part of 'the global' 28
 29 – in order to reframe the ambivalence between cosmopolitanism and orientalism. 29
 30 Instead of asking if tourism and cosmopolitanism goes hand in hand, we need to 30
 31 understand what kinds of 'banal cosmopolitanism' are enacted when performing 31
 32 tourism. 32

33 In doing this I argue for the need to follow the routes that connect the contexts 33
 34 of 'home' and 'away' and therefore extending the ethnographic methods currently 34
 35 used in studies of tourist performances in particular tourist settings into the 35
 36 private home of tourist to examine how tourist performances are incorporated 36
 37 into the wider context of everyday lives. In this article I exemplify such modes 37
 38 of belonging in the world by tracing tourist performances and experiences from 38
 39 the front regions of tourist destinations and holiday making to the back regions 39
 40 in tourists private homes and lives. Thus, the examples discussed here are based 40
 41 on visits to and interviews in people's personal homes, and rests on tourist tales, 41
 42 souvenirs, and photographs from tourist trips to Turkey and Egypt produced by 42
 43 families, couples and singles. This process of gathering 'home ethnographies' 43
 44 from tourists back regions is still ongoing, but at the moment of writing 18 families 44

1 had opened their homes. By accounting for how different modes of belonging are 1
2 'routed' by particular performances and experiences of distance and connection 2
3 to/from cultures, people and places of their 'tourist life' I show that tourism indeed 3
4 breaks way for new ways of 'banal cosmopolitanism' but that such cosmopolitan 4
5 orientations in tourist and everyday life performances indeed at the same time may 5
6 re-emphasize and (re)produce orientalist scripts. In what follows I want to show 6
7 how everyday 'ethnographies' in people's private homes shows may contribute to 7
8 trace out the different modes of 'banal cosmopolitanism' enacted in relation to the 8
9 afterlife of tourist performances and experiences. 9

10 10

11 11

12 **Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism** 12

13 13

14 As Nava (2002) has shown there has been close ties between the cosmopolitan 14
15 orientations in everyday life and modern consumption. Others have similarly argued 15
16 that the emergence of contemporary tourism has reinforced a sense of aesthetic 16
17 cosmopolitanism among certain groups of people (Lash and Urry 1995: 256–7). 17
18 Thus, in their research on 'cosmopolitan cultures' (Szeszynski, B. and Urry, J. 2006) 18
19 suggests a set of cosmopolitan practices and dispositions consisting of extensive 19
20 mobilities, curiosity about places and ability to consume and compare places and 20
21 an openness towards 'other' people and cultures; practices and dispositions that 21
22 enable, at least certain groups of people to 'inhabit the world from afar'. 22

23 Such relations between cosmopolitanism, consumption and tourist travel were 23
24 also clearly exhibited in the homes of people visited as part of this study. This was 24
25 perhaps most clearly visible in the home of Keith and Lisa, a young couple living 25
26 in a small flat in a 'multicultural' inner city neighbourhood in Copenhagen. To 26
27 Keith and Lisa travelling is a formative part of the way they present themselves. 27
28 On their shelves are several guidebooks, a globe, a water-pipe, on the wall a map 28
29 of the world besides a pop art reproduction of a Coca-Cola bottle and on the floor 29
30 several cushions from Turkey and Latin America. Lisa explains that she likes 30
31 having cushions from Turkey in her lounge as they are not 'typical, not oriental in 31
32 their style, you cannot really see where they are from, only I know it, so if anyone 32
33 asks I will of course tell'. The objects displayed in the sofa on the shelves and so 33
34 on are not regarded as souvenirs but rather as utility items imbued with a certain 34
35 symbolic value that enables them to signal Keith's and Lisa's community with an 35
36 cosmopolitan 'global culture'. However, the personal relationship and knowledge 36
37 about the origin places of the objects are important to this couple, and travelling 37
38 together is, they explain, central to them. This dominantly aesthetic ability and 38
39 sense of being part of a 'global culture' is expressed clearly by several informants 39
40 in our study so far. Travelling and being part of 'global culture' is important for 40
41 being able to navigate in the contemporary world. It is also a central competence 41
42 and source of identity work. To Keith and Lisa the experience of travelling together 42
43 was central to their tour to Turkey. This was their first time travelling together and 43
44 this first experience of being away together was marked by literally inscribing 44

45



Figure 3.1 Keith and Lisa's lounge 1



Figure 3.2 Keith and Lisa's lounge 2

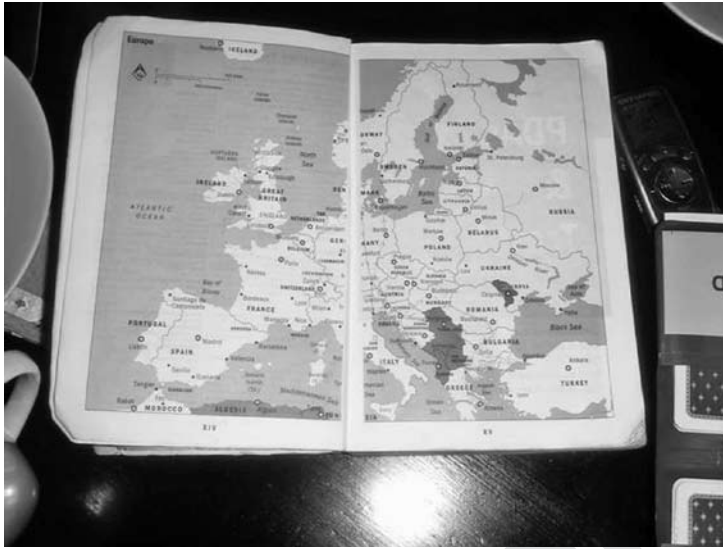


Figure 3.3 Guidebook with travel routes from their holiday



Figure 3.4 Ann and Pennie's lounge



Figure 3.5 Photo album with pictures from diving in the Red Sea

their routes (and relationship) on the map in the guidebook, they brought with them (see Figures 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3).

The role of travelling together as part of marking important steps in ones life as part of education oneself and ones children to be part of 'the global'. Ann had recently finished her master studies, the same summer as her oldest daughter was about to start school. Having travelled extensively in Europe, Egypt, Jordan and Israel earlier on, Ann explains that she thought this to be a fine opportunity to let her daughter Pennie gain firsthand knowledge 'other' places: 'The idea was something like: I had been terrible busy writing my master report ... and then it this seemed like an idea that could be a way of getting in tune with each others lives again...before she would start school ... which is ... something big, right...'. The choice of marking the step for the daughter from child to school child by travelling was not accidental. Ann and Pennie's home is, like Keith and Lisa's filled with references to other places, a world map, a canoe, in an extra room, eighteenth century travel literature, and the wall is dominated by a huge world map, that Ann explains is used for plotting travels of family friends and 'of course to see Africa, with Egypt as the reference point' (Figure 3.4). The decision to pick Egypt as the place to go, however rested on an extensive comparison of the particular affordances this destination offered, Ann continues,

1 Well, I thought much about Pennie and Egypt ... the desert, camels, that kind 1
2 of things The reason for that I supported the idea was, that I thought...this 2
3 would be something that would be so much different from ... [...]. When we 3
4 were talking about where to go, Paris was mentioned too, but I had it like that, 4
5 well, no, we can do that another time, when she is a teenager, thane she can bring 5
6 a friend, and let me alone. Because ... I simply do not think Paris is able at ... 6
7 to children I mean ... leave an impression Whereas I thought, Mummies are 7
8 potent, the big temples, the desert, camels and the smells, and like this, there are 8
9 many things inviting that you can construct mark that this is an extraordinary 9
10 experience you have had ... 10
11 11
12 Despite the many references to 'other places' in her 'lounge', no souvenirs are 12
13 on display (apart from the statue from the Dali Museum in Figueres, Spain in the 13
14 corner. When asked about this, Ann explains that she earlier on bought loads of 14
15 souvenirs but that she often feels a bit ashamed of the things she has brought home 15
16 (several jars (replicas of jars used by ancient Egyptians for mummification), a 16
17 chessboard, a backgammon board and small statuettes of Egyptian gods) 17
18 18
19 ... I think I brought them home to document the history of Egypt, statues of 19
20 Akn-aton, papyrus that sort of things. I did think they were fantastic from an 20
21 aesthetic point of view, but also to show them at home, a kind of documentary: 21
22 See, that's Egypt I wished to document it to my family, especially my grand 22
23 parents who are very local ... then I could like go out, experience, document and 23
24 tell them about... 24
25 25
26 Translating her travel experience into the local life worlds of – in particular – her 26
27 grandparents was an important enterprise earlier on. Today it is the transfer of 27
28 the competences and identity of 'being able' to get along while travelling that is 28
29 central. Asked about how she holds on to her travel experience of this trip, she 29
30 emphasizes – again – the educating elements of travelling to her daughter. Thus, 30
31 Ann's, primary contribution to holding on to their collective travel experience 31
32 is producing a photo album (planned from the very beginning) she edited and 32
33 finished for her daughter to her seventh birthday. The scenes in the album are 33
34 portraits of Pennie in different situations: Pennie, leading the mountain guide in 34
35 Sinai, Pennie at work in the restaurant with the waiter, Pennie above the 'blue hole' 35
36 coral reef in the Red Sea – scenes that Ann explains she refers to, when something 36
37 puts her daughter down (Figure 3.5). The deliberate staging, choreographing and 37
38 photographing of a 'happy childhood' while on holiday is of course a main aspect 38
39 of all family life (see Haldrup and Larsen 2003, Larsen 2005). What interests 39
40 me here is how this social endeavour is related to the 'cosmopolitan outlook' 40
41 emphasized by Ann and the socialization of her daughter to include cosmopolitan 41
42 connections in this photo narrative. Openness towards 'other people' and their 42
43 lives (children in the Bedouin camp, where they stayed a couple of nights, waiters 43
44 at the café close to their hostel and so on) and the ability to map her own 'place' 44
45

1 and culture onto the globe are made central elements of the daughter's identity 1
 2 and education. 2
 3 3
 4 4
 5 **Orientalist Cosmopolitanism** 5
 6 6
 7 As more and more groups in society have gained access to cheap air travel around 7
 8 the globe the significance of the ability to experience, to compare and discriminate 8
 9 between places and cultures are not reserved for the young and educated. Such 9
 10 cosmopolitan values were also a central theme for Heinz, 60 year old, retired and 10
 11 living in a small, remote village. Since his first tour outside Europe in 1994, just 11
 12 after the younger son moved, he has been a frequent traveller. Before my first visit 12
 13 to his house in November 2006 he had already been to The Philippines, Egypt 13
 14 and Bali this year and was just packing to go to Thailand the day after my visit. 14
 15 Heinz keeps an archive of systematic reports of the places he visits. Every evening 15
 16 on his travels he fills one sheet of paper with his impressions from that day, the 16
 17 sheets are ordered into the same blue folders, and kept in the cupboard besides 17
 18 the television together with tickets, photocopies of travel brochures from tour 18
 19 operators and so on. He also documents his holiday on video tape. He explains this 19
 20 systematic recording of his travels as partly 'because I like to compare what they 20
 21 write and how things are' partly because 'it is becoming difficult to distinguish 21
 22 between, different sorts of things, remember how things were in a specific country 22
 23 in say 2004'. After some talk Heinz explains that the reason for the documentation 23
 24 originally was (and in some sense still is) that he would like to be asked about his 24
 25 rich travel experience especially by his sons, but also from friends. In emphasizing 25
 26 the importance of being a skilled and experienced traveller (he also organizes most 26
 27 of his travels himself), and the seriousness that goes into comparing and evaluating 27
 28 places he visits, Heinz explicitly emphasizes the value of cosmopolitan orientations 28
 29 in everyday life. The ability to organize travel, distinguish and evaluate places, 29
 30 cultures and people as well as to appreciate difference in global society is all high 30
 31 ranking skills and values. However it also becomes clear from the talks with him 31
 32 that not all places, cultures and people are equally compared. For Heinz places are 32
 33 assigned very specific roles, relating to their particular affordances. This is also 33
 34 mirrored in the repetitive patterns of his travel career: Thailand is for relaxing, Bali 34
 35 for exoticism and Egypt for diving and so on (see Figures 3.6 and 3.7), and when 35
 36 speaking with Heinz it also becomes clear that his cosmopolitan outlook goes hand 36
 37 in hand with a geographical imagination based on orientalist tropes. As Gregory 37
 38 (2005) has argued the theatrical qualities of the Orient has been (and still is) central 38
 39 in orchestrating how tourists have encountered, perceived and portrayed other 39
 40 places, cultures and people also when performing tourism, and also in connecting 40
 41 with places, cultures and people 'outside' the geographical East (Sheller 2003). As 41
 42 argued elsewhere orientalism is not only a regime of (representational) knowledge 42
 43 but also an embodied, tacit and habitual knowledge that shape people's encounter 43
 44 with 'O/other's by translating hegemonic discourses into everyday practices so 44

1	1994 Tunesien	2004 Bali	1
2	1995 Senegal	2005 Philippinen	2
3	1995 Koo	2005 Ägypten	3
4	1996 Marokko	2005 Bali	4
5	1996 Autocampen	2006 Philippinen	5
6	1996 Tunesien	2006 Ägypten	6
7	1995 Florida	2006 Bali	7
8	1997 Malaysia		8
9	1997 Tunesien		9
10	1998 Thailand		10
11	1998 Rhodos		11
12	1999 Thailand		12
13	1999 Bali		13
14	2000 Ägypten		14
15	2000 Philippinen		15
16	2000 Bali		16
17	2001 Mexiko		17
18	2001 Ägypten		18
19	2002 Gili Trawangan		19
20	2002 Ägypten		20
21	2003 Philippinen		21
22	2003 Brasilien		22
23	2004 Thailand		23

Figure 3.6 Heinz's travel career



Figure 3.7 Travel itineraries and artefacts

1 that they enter into the habitual spaces of ordinary experience. It is about the way 1
 2 in which cultural difference is performed in the encompassing field of everyday 2
 3 sociality and sensual habit – how it colours the visual, flavours the olfactory and 3
 4 tempers the emotional (Haldrup et al. 2006). The roles Heinz assigns to places are 4
 5 firmly rooted in such an embodied, sensual and habitual practical orientalism. This 5
 6 is most clearly in his distinction between Egypt (where he only goes for diving 6
 7 trips) and Bali ('an inviting island in a sea of muslims'). He talks passionately 7
 8 about his long relationship to a Balinese family and especially their daughter at 8
 9 now 17, at the same time explaining 'no, I do not talk to people in Egypt. You 9
 10 know I have only met the diving instructors and they are young men, and our 10
 11 everyday lives would be too remote from each other to have anything to speak of 11
 12 ...'. Heinz does not like speaking about this topic, when asked directly, but he will 12
 13 touch upon it occasionally when we are talking about other issues. For example, 13
 14 when discussing the cartoon case maybe footnote, he argues, 'well, I do not want 14
 15 to accuse all muslims, the diver instructors for example are absolutely fine, but ...'. 15
 16 Or speaking about debates on multiculturalism in Denmark 'well, I do not want 16
 17 to project the debate we have in Denmark onto the people living there, but it may 17
 18 be something that sticks to you ...'. Like this, we see his apparent cosmopolitan 18
 19 orientation is ironically informed by a differentiation between and evaluating of 19
 20 places based on orientalist tropes. 20

21 The workings of such a *orientalist cosmopolitanism* is even more significant 21
 22 in relation to another couple: Dennis and Maryann. Speaking about their trip to 22
 23 Egypt Dennis explained that they had to stay in the resort area or on their cruise 23
 24 ship because and when leaving these patrolled spaces 'I always made sure to be 24
 25 together with some other people. (...) I would say it is really frightening. You 25
 26 cannot move anywhere in Egypt without passing road barriers and barb wire 26
 27 ...'. To Dennis and Maryann the streets of Egypt are terrifying with potential 27
 28 assaulters in every street. The main model of explanation used by Dennis is not 28
 29 cultural but economic. He bases this interpretation mainly on talks he has had 29
 30 with a member of the crew on his Nile Cruise ship ('his friend') also using this 30
 31 as a way of emphasizing to me that he is not prejudiced against the people he 31
 32 meet. Nevertheless he generalizes the 'poverty' explanation to a general model 32
 33 of interpretation both used in relation to his visits in Turkey and Egypt. Thus, 33
 34 Dennis continually referred to the greedy and swindling nature of people in Egypt 34
 35 and Turkey and while these are of course classical tropes of orientalist discourse 35
 36 (Said 1995) he also relates this to the experience of living in a multiethnic society 36
 37 at home: '...but a big difference between being in Turkey and Egypt. In Turkey, 37
 38 the people who have been living up here for some time, they are really disgusting, 38
 39 when they are in their homeland. Unpleasant like hell ...' and asked examples of 39
 40 incidents of this he explains '... its incidents like, if you do not want to look at his 40
 41 goods, then you are met with ... and shouting hooker after your wife and stupid 41
 42 pig ... and other abuses'. 42

43 To Dennis and Maryann the world is one big buffet. They are in many ways 43
 44 emblematic to Bauman's notion of the world as 'the tourists oyster' (1998). 44

1 However, their trips to the different corners of the world, rely on a sharp 1
2 dichotomized division between safe/unsafe spaces, 'them' and 'us'. Streets are 2
3 filled with unreliable, lurking, potential violent assaulters and only safe in the bus 3
4 or accompanied by 'other people'. Another woman in her early thirties similarly 4
5 describes how she and her mother were constantly yelled at by shop owners 5
6 shouting 'there comes the whores again' and assaulting her by putting ice cubes 6
7 inside her blouse and bra. To her, the streets were disorienting spaces, and the 7
8 behaviour of the 'local' people inhabiting them was confusing, assaulting, and 8
9 basically impossible to relate to. Like Dennis, she relates these incidents to her 9
10 own experiences of multiethnicity at home, claiming that '... but I knew this, I 10
11 know how it is in my youth club (her work), when there is an arrangement of some 11
12 sort, then they turn up in groups from Gjellerup Parken [a renowned Ghetto area in 12
13 the city she lived in]. And they do not have any respect for anything ... especially 13
14 not the way they approach women ...'. Through their embodied and sensual coding 14
15 (sound, smell, mere presence of 'alien' bodies etc.) everyday spaces become battle 15
16 zones between hegemonic western bodies and perceived threatening, anonymous 16
17 'aliens'. Furthermore, this geographical imagination is translated into the streets 17
18 of the bazaar producing a space war, in which the tourists only are capable of 18
19 moving around like an occupant power patrolling the hostile streets in groups and 19
20 with guards capable of making immediate retreats to the 'heavens' provided by the 20
21 hotel, the cruise ship and so on. Like this we see that explicit cosmopolitanism is 21
22 not necessarily incompatible with practising orientalism in the ordinary encounters 22
23 with places and people on holiday. 23

24
25

26 **Connective Cosmopolitanism** 26

27

28 As we have seen above, aesthetic appreciation and practical distancing goes 28
29 easily hand in hand when doing tourism. In doing this, tourist performances and 29
30 experiences tend to reinforce a sense of 'orientalist hegemony' of the Western, 30
31 rational, mundane subject over the Eastern, emotional, exotic object. It should 31
32 however also be noted that tourist experiences also may challenge and alter such 32
33 orientalist schematics. Reflecting on the relation between tourist experiences in 33
34 Turkey and Egypt and everyday encounters with immigrants from these particular 34
35 countries some of the people visited told that their experiences on holiday had 35
36 transformed their view on immigrants from what we have called a habitual 36
37 embodied 'practical orientalism' to a more open attitude. This transformation 37
38 was made particular clear by Ken and Sue. Both had lived in so-called 'ghetto 38
39 areas' stigmatized for their high proportioned of Middle Eastern and Third World 39
40 immigrants and worked as factory employees together with people of multiple ethnic 40
41 origins. When talking about how tourist experiences on their frequent holidays in 41
42 Turkey related to broader aspects of their everyday lives, Sue emphasized this: 42

43
44

45

- 1 But don't you remember in the beginning ... the first time we were going to 1
 2 Turkey ... we were walking through the shopping centre and there ... with all 2
 3 these Turks hanging around everywhere ... and you said: "what the hell are we 3
 4 going to Turkey for. We've got plenty of these people here"', and Ken continued: 4
 5 'Yeah, "Well, it is all those people they don't want to keep down there that they 5
 6 are sending to us up here ..." [...] And then when you actually get down there it 6
 7 is plainly speaking like getting a basket of coal thrown in your face ... Well what 7
 8 is it actually you've been saying ... 8
 9 9
- 10 After having mentioned some of the instances in which their everyday conceptions 10
 11 of Muslim immigrants has been changed by their experiences as tourists in Turkey. 11
 12 Ken sums up: 12
 13 13
- 14 I would not say that I look differently on Turks here. I think I'll say that I might 14
 15 view them more like I do when I am holiday ... It is not like it was before you 15
 16 actually got to know someone from Turkey ... [...] There is of course some rules 16
 17 you adjust to when you are out there...Actually you do not really think about 17
 18 what you bring home, but if you bring these with you home [...], then it actually 18
 19 works out just fine.... 19
 20 20
- 21 To Ken and Sue the holidays in Turkey have in important ways changed their way 21
 22 of relating to and encountering people of 'other' cultural backgrounds. Thus the 22
 23 practical orientalism which has shaped their relations to immigrants earlier in their 23
 24 life has been supersede by what could be called a connective cosmopolitanism 24
 25 based on and situated experiences and practices of interaction with particular 25
 26 'others'. The notion of connected cosmopolitanism is close to Appiah's suggestion 26
 27 of '... a world in which everyone is a rooted cosmopolitan, attached to a home of 27
 28 his or her own, with its own particularities, but taking pleasure from the presence 28
 29 of other, different, places, that are home to other, different, people' (Appiah 1998: 29
 30 91). Like Appiah's notion of 'rooted' cosmopolitanism the notion of 'connective 30
 31 cosmopolitanism' forces us to think of cosmopolitanism as something that relies on 31
 32 and reproduce a sustained commitment to particular places and people instead of 32
 33 taking pleasure from a being part of an abstracted global or cosmopolitan culture. 33
 34 This also differentiates this specific mode of cosmopolitanism both from the 34
 35 positive valuation of 'otherness' in aesthetic cosmopolitanism and the highly 35
 36 negative valuation of the 'other' found in the culture of what I have called orientalist 36
 37 cosmopolitanism. While the latter two both draws on respectively a pleasuarable 37
 38 or repulsive distance between well-known/exotic, tourism/everyday life, tourists/ 38
 39 locals, Self/others connective cosmopolitanism is based on specific encounters 39
 40 and abilities to connect with other particular people, places and cultures. This can 40
 41 be further elaborated by turning to how tourist experiences and everyday life are 41
 42 tied together in the life of Hanna. 42
- 43 Like Ken and Sue Hanna has not a very long travel career. Despite this, she has 43
 44 only been to the Canarian Islands with her husband a couple of times and a visit to 44

1 some family in Florida back in 1991. The visits to Egypt all have been connected 1
2 to her and her husband's purchase of a house in Hurghada on the Egyptian Red Sea 2
3 shore. As her husband have been too busy with their business in Denmark, she has 3
4 had to supervise the constructing work in Hurghada. At the same time her visits 4
5 have facilitated friendships with people there and in Cairo, friends that have been 5
6 inviting her occasionally to family events and on visits to their own families in 6
7 suburban Luxor, Cairo and Alexandria. Speaking about how she has got in contact 7
8 with the people that populates her photo album she explains 'Well, they are very 8
9 eager to seek contact, you know, on the street, so some of them we just met, and 9
10 if I then feel that they see alright, I do not have any second thoughts about letting 10
11 them suggest their ideas ...[...]. And I am not worried about ... that, you know 11
12 they like to invite you to your home, and show what they've got ... so it's simply 12
13 to follow ... [...]. When asked about what kind of conversations she engage in 13
14 and what topics she brings up she explains, that she does not have any problems 14
15 regarding political discussions: 15

16 16
17 We do have sustained contact ... We should actually have been to Egypt in 17
18 February when all flights suddenly were cancelled [as a consequence of the 18
19 'cartoon crisis']. And how I felt about it Well, I was very curious about 19
20 what they thought about it all, in Cairo. We were in daily contact ... and I was 20
21 thinking about what he was thinking about it, so I did send him a text message, 21
22 just to hear what the guy we have most contact to thought about ... and I got a 22
23 very fast reply saying that we are fully aware of that not all Danes are like that 23
24 ... so no, it is very reasonable ... of course some have been critical ... but we 24
25 were there just afterwards, but no one commented on it to us ... When we asked 25
26 ... they were fully up to date about the discussion, but no 26

27 27
28 She has regular contact with her 'friends' (two in Cairo, two in Hurghada) at least 28
29 every fourteen days, mostly about everyday issues such as work, and progress 29
30 with the house, but also at moments such as national holidays (where her Egyptian 30
31 friends are very eager to remember the central holidays such as Christmas and 31
32 Easter), or when incidents such as the cartoon crisis or bombings (Sharm, Dahab) 32
33 hits the global media circuit (Figures 3.8 to 3.10). Apart from that communication 33
34 revolves around trivial issues such as their respective children, how business is 34
35 going and so on. Asked if there is anything she misses in her relations to the 35
36 'Egyptian' friends, she says: 36

37 37
38 I miss talking more about the role of women, you know, the women I know, 38
39 do not really speak English, so their men have to be there, and I know that for 39
40 example ... Musa's wife is fed up, with him claiming that she should stay at 40
41 home, and I try to explain that he should let her have some of the freedom he 41
42 also wants for himself, but it is difficult.... 42

43 43
44 44
45 45



Figure 3.8 Home of Hanna and her family in Northern Jutland, Denmark



Figure 3.9 Second Home under construction, Hurghada, Egypt



Figure 3.10 Family visit to Egyptian friends, Cairo, Egypt



Figure 3.11 Susan's computer, webcam and photo diary



Figure 3.12 Family and souvenirs at display in Susan's home

As we see the 'cosmopolitan' orientation of Hanna is not based on aesthetic premises but much more on the practicalities of everyday life. While being 'tourist by accident' (the house in Egypt was originally planned as an investment opportunity), Hanna was not particularly interested in 'experiencing' spectacular cultures and sights, the connections she keeps alive are very much based on comparing and discussing the differences and sameness of their everyday lives. Instead she emphasizes the ability to connect and make friendship across cultural and geographical distance and to reproduce such connections in everyday life communications between Denmark and Egypt.

A similar connective cosmopolitanism is also present in the life of Susan. Despite travelling to Egypt regularly as a two-week sun-seeker Susan explains that she prefers to avoid any contact with other tourists and travellers and even claims that she has never gone on a sightseeing trip. 'I don't care ... simply too sick ... just about pulling the last money out of the tourists ... then I will prefer to sit at the local coffee shop, have a pipe of tobacco, and a cup of Arabian coffee ... I mean ... that's much more cosy ...'. Instead she refers to particular people in Egypt that she has a continual contact with also in-between her visits. Asked about what she topic she brings up she explains that it is the same type of discussions she would also engage in at home 'for example divorces ... when I discuss with other women ... [...]. Now take these cartoons as an example, they tend to laugh a bit, but I guess

1 that they are not the worst kind of ... people working in the resort areas...they
2 are much more engaged in supporting their families... So we discuss divorces,
3 politics and so on ...'. During her visits she (and her former husband) have been
4 involved in different projects with local entrepreneurs such as the design of a
5 polygon ice house in Sharm el Sheik during their first visit.

6 Over time she has developed relationships with a couple of Egyptians working
7 in Hurghada, one of them having been in Denmark too to visit his family and she
8 has continual contact with these using Skype and text messages on the mobile
9 phone. In doing this they are included into her daily communication practices
10 (see Figure 3.11 and 3.12). With close relatives living in seven different countries
11 on three continents, using Skype is an integral part of her social life 'Uncle and
12 Aunt in Haifa, my other uncle in Canada, and my father has just been married and
13 moved to Bucharest'.

14 Her home is filled with souvenirs bought on her visits, including several places
15 between pictures of family members and so on, and she tells them that using these
16 objects – such as the oil lamp from Israel – makes her think of her family relations
17 around the world. While not being especially affluent – she is a lone mother,
18 currently working renting out skates at winter, running an ice cream bar in the
19 local park in the summer – her small apartment is stuffed with objects and pictures
20 pointing to the 'connective cosmopolitanism' which orchestrates her life.

21

22

23 **Conclusion: Tourism and Banal Cosmopolitanism**

24

25 In this chapter I have shown how tourist performances in significant ways feed
26 into the practices and relations of peoples' everyday lives, connecting spaces of
27 tourism and spaces of home through a variety of corporeal, virtual and material
28 mobilities. Tourist performances are not limited to the two-week vacation of the
29 pleasure-seeking traveller, but integrated into wider aspects of consumption and
30 everyday life inducing processes of 'banal cosmopolitanism' into peoples' lives.
31 As we see from the examples discussed here the particular routes through which
32 cosmopolitan experiences may travel are not univocal. Thus, cosmopolitanism may
33 take different, even antagonistic forms. The practices and dispositions developed
34 by and employed by the households in 'routing' their cosmopolitanized practises
35 of 'away' and 'home' in their tourist performances are very different. In addition to
36 the 'aesthetic cosmopolitanism' which often has been noticed to be an integral part
37 of the rise of modern tourism, I suggest the notions of 'orientalist cosmopolitanism'
38 and 'connective cosmopolitanism' to capture the different modes of banal
39 cosmopolitanism at work in a world in which the 'global' is increasingly part of
40 mundane experiences. Thus, both the notions of 'orientalist cosmopolitanism' and
41 'connective cosmopolitanism', both points to more nonreflexive and embodied
42 responses to the penetration of everyday life by global mobilities than what is
43 usually addressed in discussions of cosmopolitan cultures. By discriminating
44 between such modes of cosmopolitanism I want to emphasize that apart from an

45

- 1 emerging culture of aesthetic cosmopolitanism among particular asocial groups also 1
 2 other modes of cosmopolitanism, perhaps less reflexive and less articulated, may 2
 3 be enabled by current transformations of everyday life and travel. Thus processes 3
 4 of banal cosmopolitanism may produce borders and connections, that are drawn 4
 5 and established, in habitual, nonreflexive and embodied ways. 5
 6 Distinguishing between such differences in the way people respond to the 6
 7 presence of 'the global' in tourist experiences and performances is furthermore 7
 8 important if we want to avoid the hyperbolic banalities that often haunts 8
 9 discussions of globalization, tourism and cosmopolitanism. Tourism does indeed 9
 10 carry emancipatory potential as I quoted Löfgren for stating in the beginning of 10
 11 this article. The way this potential is embodied, particularized, materialized is 11
 12 however an open game. 12
 13 13
 14 14
 15 **References** 15
 16 16
 17 Appadurai, A. 1999. *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, 17
 18 Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 18
 19 Appiah, K.A. 1998. Cosmopolitan patriots, in *Cosmopolis. Thinking and Feeling* 19
 20 *Beyond the Nation*, edited by P. Cheah and B. Robbins. Minneapolis: University 20
 21 of Minnesota Press, 91–116. 21
 22 Bauman, Z. 1998. *Globalization. The Human Consequences*. New York: Columbia 22
 23 University Press. 23
 24 Beck, U. 2004. Cosmopolitical realism: on the distinction between cosmopolitanism 24
 25 in philosophy and the social sciences. *Global Networks* 4(2), 131–56. 25
 26 Billig, M. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage. 26
 27 Clifford, J. 1997. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. 27
 28 Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 28
 29 Gregory, D. 2005. Performing Cairo: Orientalism and the city of the Arabian 29
 30 Nights, in *Making Cairo Medieval*, edited by N. Alsayyad, I. Bierman and N. 30
 31 Rabat. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. pp. 69–93. 31
 32 Haldrup, M. and Larsen, J. 2003. The family gaze. *Tourist Studies* 3(1), 23–46. 32
 33 Haldrup, M. and Larsen, J. 2006. Material Cultures of Tourism. *Leisure Studies* 33
 34 25 (3), 275–89. 34
 35 Haldrup, M. Koefoed, L. and Simonsen, K. 2006. Practical orientalism – bodies, 35
 36 everyday life and the construction of otherness. *Geografiska Annaler B*, 88 (2), 36
 37 173–84. 37
 38 Larsen, J. 2005. Families seen sightseeing: performativity of tourist photography. 38
 39 *Space and Culture*, 8(4), 416–34. 39
 40 Löfgren, O. 1999. *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing*. Berkeley: University of 40
 41 California Press. 41
 42 Nava, M. 2002. Cosmopolitan modernity: everyday imaginaries and the register of 42
 43 difference. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 19(1–2), 81–99. 43
 44 Said, E., 1995. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin. 44

1	Sheller, M. 2003. <i>Consuming the Caribbean</i> . London: Routledge.	1
2	Szeszynski, B. and Urry, J. 2006. Visuality, mobility and the cosmopolitan:	2
3	inhabiting the world from afar. <i>The British Journal of Sociology</i> , 57(1), 113–	3
4	31.	4
5	Turner, J. and Ash, L. 1975. <i>The Golden Hordes</i> . London: Constable.	5
6		6
7		7
8		8
9		9
10		10
11		11
12		12
13		13
14		14
15		15
16		16
17		17
18		18
19		19
20		20
21		21
22		22
23		23
24		24
25		25
26		26
27		27
28		28
29		29
30		30
31		31
32		32
33		33
34		34
35		35
36		36
37		37
38		38
39		39
40		40
41		41
42		42
43		43
44		44
		45

Proof Copy

1	Chapter 4	1
2		2
3	The Island That Was Not There: Producing	3
4	Corelli's Island, Staging Kefalonia	4
5		5
6		6
7	Mike Crang and Penny Travlou	7
8		8
9		9
10		10
11		11
12	Introduction:	12
13		13
14	This chapter will focus upon the contested practices and imaginations of one	14
15	island whose tourist market is markedly divided between an upmarket north and	15
16	mass market south. In the midst of this tense clash of tastes, the island was the	16
17	setting for the book and the film of <i>Captain Corelli's Mandolin</i> . So this chapter	17
18	moves between the Louis de Bernières' book <i>Captain Corelli's Mandolin</i> (1997),	18
19	the Miramax film of the book (released 2001) and the touristic experience of the	19
20	island. In the year after the release of the film visitor numbers from the UK to the	20
21	island, who form some 87 percent of those arriving by plane, rose by 22 percent	21
22	and 10 percent again the year following, more strongly than growth in visitors	22
23	from other countries, and growing more rapidly than British tourism to Greece	23
24	in general (Hudson and Ritchie 2006: 263-4). It was by all accounts a classic	24
25	case of a movie driving up the popularity of a destination. This has set in play	25
26	competing and complementary imaginaries of the island as landscape and beach	26
27	resort – and what such beaches should be used for. Hosting the (so-called) most	27
28	photographed beach in Greece, alongside beaches, or always 'coves', labelled	28
29	as 'romantic' via the movie, alongside mass tourism infrastructure the chapter	29
30	unpacks the production of the beach and scenery for tourists. Not least here we	30
31	want to highlight the different Kefalonias imagined and those lost and found, those	31
32	unobtainable and those haunting the Ionian.	32
33		33
34		34
35	An Island Lost in the Myths of Time	35
36		36
37	'On an island untouched by time' intones the gravely baritone voice in the first	37
38	words of the trailer for <i>Captain Correlli's Mandolin</i> , accompanied by brief scenes	38
39	of beaches and fishing coves and barefooted women on the sand and then followed	39
40	by the speeding sequence of war planes flying over and troops marching. 'In a	40
41	world divided by war', it continues, as Italian troops march past Captain Corelli	41
42	(Nicholas Cage) who, leading his unit, calls out 'Bella Bambina 2 o'clock' and	42
43	leads the salute to Pelagia (Penelope Cruz). 'A stranger came into their lives' adds	43
44	the narration. We shall not tarry over each scene, but here we find the film quickly	44

1 setting the island of Kefalonia as a pristine, edenic land – out of time, out of 1
 2 the political world into which events roughly intrude. This is clearly a replayed 2
 3 scenario of so many island fantasies. But it is also one that resonates most strongly 3
 4 with the Greek Ionian pitched in terms of Otherness to modern Europe. 4

5 As Tzanelli notes ‘Greece has been more an imagined topos than an actual 5
 6 place for prosperous foreigners since the birth of classicism’ (Tzanelli 2003; 6
 7 21). Originally this focused upon the role of ancient Greece as progenitor and 7
 8 originary mythic place for European, Western civilization. But in those visits and 8
 9 studies increasing concern was then paid to the neo-Hellenes, the modern Greeks – 9
 10 portrayed by contrast as oriental interlopers; so the imagined superiority of ancient 10
 11 western Greece could be revealed in the economic inferiority of the contemporary 11
 12 Greek peasantry. Indeed, in the case of Van Lennep’s *Oriental Album* – writing in the 12
 13 1860s – Greek culture is assigned to Ottoman and Oriental categories: ‘it revolves 13
 14 around the typical oriental themes of exhibition and colourfulness’ (Tzanelli 14
 15 2003; 22). However, there certainly was a more celebratory if patronizing subtone 15
 16 focused upon the rural peasantry, celebrated for their earthy if simplistic culture 16
 17 – seen as pure and authentic as opposed to hybridized. Accounts reveal partly an 17
 18 inevitable fascination with the inaccessibility of Greek women for observation and 18
 19 focus upon ‘gestures, posture and mannerism – *neo-Hellenic habitus*’ (Tzanelli 19
 20 2003; 40). This is part of a piece with a rising romantic celebration of timeless folk 20
 21 culture, clashing with the linear evolutionary temporality seen in developmental 21
 22 models. Such temporalities map onto an urban rural divide 22

23
 24 Urban time emulated western progressive time unsuccessfully, whereas the rural 24
 25 was almost static. Greek rural culture was burdened by a famous past, which was 25
 26 preserved *unconsciously* in popular beliefs. Contrariwise, there was a violent 26
 27 historical disruption in urban modes of thought. (Tzanelli 2003; 43) 27
 28 28

29 If this trope is clearly being tapped into by the movie, it contrasts with the novel 29
 30 whose main strand includes precisely a layered historical sensibility embodied 30
 31 in the figure of Dr Ioannis and his incomplete manuscript for a ‘New History of 31
 32 Cephallonia’. Through this textual vehicle, de Bernière is able to provide a meta- 32
 33 history of the island in the novel. Here is a history that is anything but uneventful, 33
 34 and is rather written as though the island were endlessly buffeted by the winds 34
 35 of geopolitical conflict – from ancient times, through the Venetian empire to 35
 36 Ottoman domination and British imperialism. It provides a cataclysmic history 36
 37 of disasters and explosions, of opposite outcomes of good intentions, sceptical 37
 38 of metanarratives (Sheppard 2002). But within it there is also a clear sense of 38
 39 a replication of the stereotypes of Ionian culture produced through the British 39
 40 colonial moment and its ethnologies – offering a romantic folk type. 40

41 Yet the novel can clearly play more upon this setting, where it ironizes other 41
 42 Ionian myths. In the *Odyssey*, faithful Penelope stitches at home by day and undoes 42
 43 her work at night. Pelagia ends up unstitching her work and growing cooler to her 43
 44 suitor whilst Mandros, away fighting a war, returns and is only recognized by the 44

1 pine marten (similar to the dog who recognizes Odysseus in the Odyssey). But 1
 2 then Odysseus leaves his sailor with the rotting leg whereas Mandras returns with 2
 3 a rotting foot (Sheppard 2002). In other words, on a deep level the novel inserts the 3
 4 island in an economy of long circulating stories and images of the island. 4

5 As such we might look at the long term envisioning of the Adriatic in things 5
 6 like mid-twentieth century travellers' home movies where in the interwar years 6
 7 'cinematography – as enthusiasts called their new hobby – was part of the new 7
 8 technological apparatus that, together with locomotives, cruise ships and motor 8
 9 cars, became associated with Mediterranean holidays (Norris Nicholson 2006: 9
 10 16) and indeed the staging of a folksy Greek persona in the post war boom in 10
 11 musical dramas (Papadimitrou 2000). The Greek island thus has a long popular 11
 12 and academic history as a space of constructed visibility. Thus ~~when~~ Tzanelli 12
 13 (2003) points out the book and film both refigure the island but also incite a desire 13
 14 to visit or explore that island, they are doing so as part of the ongoing discourse of 14
 15 Greekness, Mediterranean-ness and indeed the nature of holidays. One important 15
 16 reflection here then is going to be between book and site, between imagination 16
 17 and representation as we see these imaginaries play out. There has been a small 17
 18 boom in work examining the intersection of film depictions and locations and 18
 19 tourism. Much of it started from a concern to measure the possible impacts of 19
 20 films upon visitor numbers (e.g. Tooke and Baker 1996; Riley, Baker et al.: 1998) 20
 21 and indeed there has developed a small industry of conventions and promoters 21
 22 seeking to attract films to use locations as a place marketing tool (Hudson and 22
 23 Ritchie 2006). The media ~~coverage~~ is not restricted to cinematic films (witness 23
 24 for instance the reported boom in 'Toddler-tourism' to the village of Tobermory 24
 25 on the Island of Mull after it was used for the setting of the popular pre-school 25
 26 show '*Balamory*' (Connell 2005). Rapidly, though, ~~three~~ sets of issues emerge 26
 27 in the literature. Perhaps first, is that of the malleability of location, second the 27
 28 multiplicity of motivations. 28

29 On the first, it is very quickly apparent that destinations linked to films or 29
 30 media can be plural. We have case where the original book or similar may use 30
 31 a real setting, and then the film choose to use a different location to represent 31
 32 that. Thus in the Mediterranean, the film *Troy* has been credited with a boom in 32
 33 visitors to Malta – where the movie was shot. Of course the original setting may be 33
 34 fictional and the film has then to use a real setting to stand for that – perhaps most 34
 35 famously with the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy, where Aoteoroa came to stand for the 35
 36 imagined Middle Earth itself fused from the refracted Celtic imaginary of English 36
 37 myth. Yet that is also far too simple, for there may well multiple original locations 37
 38 (say for Jane Austen's settings which were amalgams inspired by several country 38
 39 houses) and these in turn may well be represented by fragmented settings (where 39
 40 one location is used for interiors, another for exteriors) in ways that can jump-cut 40
 41 time and space (Crang 2003) where, for instance, Harry Potter tourism extends to 41
 42 an arc of 300 miles to cover the key places marketing themselves as locations in 42
 43 the film, or where tourist trails for 'Inspector Morse' deliberately stage some of 43
 44 the impossible entrances and exits that teleport the detective across town, entering 44
 45

1 one site to be seen emerging from another. Meanwhile more evergreen stories 1
 2 may appear in multiple media using multiple locations over time. Moreover, 2
 3 multiple different stories can blur through the use of the same area. And last but 3
 4 not least, it is entirely possible for tourists to mistake the location entirely and visit 4
 5 somewhere else convinced it is related to a film or story. The point is in some ways 5
 6 banal, though in terms of the layered and contestable meanings less so, but it is 6
 7 important. One reason for the focus of this study was that book and film location 7
 8 coincided on the island of Kefalonia – though up the end, so the local story goes, 8
 9 the film was nearly shot on Corfu. 9

10 The second complicating factor tends to be taken as the extent of motivation 10
 11 that the film supplies for different tourists. Thus a number of writers have quickly 11
 12 divided up movie tourists into those we might call ‘happenstance’ – they happen 12
 13 to be there and thus show an interest, through to the ‘generally aware’ who show 13
 14 a specific interest, thence to the more and more committed who travel specifically 14
 15 motivated to see things about that film overlaid on which are the different 15
 16 motivations afforded by the film be they plot related, personality related (the stars, 16
 17 and so on) or place related (the scenery) (Macionis 2004). Quite crucially for our 17
 18 story here, the reviews of *Captain Corelli* tended to respond ‘the Island is the Star’, 18
 19 and one suggested it turned ‘Cephalonian nature into the principal actor of the 19
 20 story’ (Hudson and Ritchie 2006: 265) or rather more acidly one suggested that the 20
 21 landscape was ~~also called~~ the second great actor after Cruz’s eyes, and ‘all those 21
 22 sun-drenched shots of white beaches and “colourful” villagers will do wonders for 22
 23 the Cephalonian tourist industry’ (*The Daily Information* 4 April 2001). Clearly 23
 24 movies where the place features more strongly should exert a stronger pull to 24
 25 tourists. The academic studies then tend to work to develop typologies and scales 25
 26 of motivations in more refined details – connecting typologies of visitor motivation 26
 27 between films and literature and so forth (Busby and Klug 2002). However, only 27
 28 rarely do they consider the affective qualities of the image (Kim and Richardson 28
 29 2003) – it tends to be treated simply as product placement, where merely seeing 29
 30 the destination is enough, rather than thinking through the registers of affection or 30
 31 desire through which it is attended. 31

32 Meanwhile on the other side ~~of the theoretical work is~~ a range of social theoretical 32
 33 statements that seek to connect to theories have argued that tourism necessarily 33
 34 ‘spectacularizes’ destinations or creates ‘myths’ about them. John Urry’s (1990) 34
 35 Foucauldian notion of tourist gaze, that shapes perceptions of the landscape has 35
 36 been enormously influential. Put over-simply, critical approaches suggests a 36
 37 vicious hermeneutic circle where marketing or films create a desirable image, 37
 38 which tourists then reproduce in their own pictures and memories (Crang 1997). 38
 39 Thus people do not see the landscape but rather see it as filtered through media-led 39
 40 expectations they then confirm. These all highlight how media inscribe meaning 40
 41 onto places with representations and texts acting as signifiers and markers of things 41
 42 which tourists should travel to see. The double edged issue is that media are seen 42
 43 not only investing places with meaning but also limiting them to a script, reducing 43
 44 them to simplified images – that can be captured and reproduced – where culture 44

1 is formatted for easy transport as 6 inch by 8 inch pieces of glossy paper. The
 2 result is a reduced but parallel vision of landscape through both media and tourism
 3 (Acland 1998). Thus the indexing of places to cinematic images often leads to
 4 disappointment or anti-climax as sites do not have single or original meanings and
 5 moreover tends to homogenize the viewed 'other' and only allow heterogeneity
 6 to us – they are unproblematically represented as mirrored on screen (Galani-
 7 Moutafi 2000: 213, 219). There is then in this critical view a connection between
 8 hegemonic ways of seeing the world encoded in both visual media (especially
 9 film and television) and tourism as being increasingly intertwined forms of spatial
 10 appropriation (Jansson 2002), and these ways of seeing are often suggested
 11 to distance people from the world rather than engage them via other affective
 12 registers. In Jansson's terms they are antagonistic modes of appropriation, that set
 13 us apart from the landscape viewed as part of a 'tourism phantasmagoria' generated
 14 through tourism imagery. Jansson suggest disentangling more sympathetic modes
 15 of appropriation and indeed context appropriations (focused on activities where
 16 the place is more incidental). But in this paper we focus rather more upon the
 17 phantasm – asking about the substantiality of Corelli and the imagery itself.

20 Anticipating Captain Corelli's Island

22 An analysis of UK based-brochures for the Mediterranean shows pictures
 23 dominated by blues and whites, and in the Greek sections and those on the Ionian
 24 islands, ~~or~~ under the headings 'ideal for couples', romantic destinations and
 25 family destinations, the introductory pieces on Kefalonia mobilize a common set
 26 of tropes:

28 Castaway Kefalonia - the island of Captain Corelli fame (Thomson 2005)

30 As fans of Captain Corelli's Mandolin will undoubtedly know, Kefalonia
 31 consists of peaceful bays, tiny hillside villages, sleepy harbours and, also, some
 32 wonderful beach resorts (MyTravel 2005).

34 Kefalonia is a haven for beach lovers with its sand and shingle coves, sheltered
 35 bays and inlets. ... still relatively new to mass tourism, although it has become
 36 famous due to the success of the book and film 'Captain Corelli's Mandolin' ...
 37 Sami 'if you want a quick preview see the movie 'Captain Corelli's Mandolin'
 38 that was filmed here (Thomas Cook 2005).

40 The setting for the romantic story of Captain Corelli's Mandolin, this mountainous
 41 isle is the largest of the Ionian cluster. Cliffs and caves, picturesque little
 42 ports, sleepy villages in herb scented hills, and beautiful beaches – some with
 43 watersports, all combine to create the perfect place and space to chill, unwind or
 44 enjoy a family holiday. The old Greece with modern comforts (Airtours 2006).

1 Of course any study of brochures has to set that in context of the dominance of the 1
2 pages by pictures and details of pretty standardized accommodation (Dann 1996), 2
3 and here each 'destination' is an island and within it a number of resorts mean 3
4 that you have a pattern of 1 page setting the scene for the island then 4-5 pages 4
5 of accommodation. So the sense of the destination here blurs from Greece to an 5
6 Island, to a specific resort. In that context Kefalonia though is notable for the scenic 6
7 and landscape descriptions that are often entirely absent from other destinations. 7
8 The island truly is the star. And it is the star in the living room before arrival – it 8
9 is even, as Thomas Cook, say possible to preview your trip via the movie. While 9
10 when the movie was released Greek specialists tour operator Kosmar and East 10
11 Midland Airport took 90 Midland travel agents to a special showing of the movie 11
12 in order to promote the destination (Hudson and Ritchie 2006: 263). 12
13 The island of the movie thus wraps over the island of the tourist imagery. But 13
14 the touristic imagery also already enfolds the movie. Thus the stunning beauty of 14
15 the island, as mentioned above, is one of the main tropes in otherwise pretty dire 15
16 reviews for the film. Thus the *New York Times* review (2001) is a virtual paean to 16
17 the island as a visual spectacle and visual spectacle as part of tourism: 17
18 18
19 If you've been longing to visit the Greek islands but haven't the time or money 19
20 to make the journey, you could do worse than spend a couple of hours soaking up 20
21 the scenery in "Captain Corelli's Mandolin." Filmed largely on Cephalonia, ... 21
22 the movie shimmers with a bluish-gold luminescence reflected from the turquoise 22
23 waters of the Ionian Sea. This light lends the craggy landscape a hot coppery 23
24 radiance that seems to emanate from inside the earth. Cinematographically 24
25 (John Toll supervised), the movie is a glorious ode to the sun-baked island on 25
26 which it was filmed. 26
27 27
28 Here the power of visual imagery is clearly aligned with an assumed connection 28
29 with tourism. A similar connection is highlighted in *Entertainment Weekly* (2001) 29
30 whose review opened with the deliberate commentary on the island as tourist 30
31 destination: 'Sunlight kisses the Greek island of Cephalonia so tenderly in *Captain* 31
32 *Corelli's Mandolin*, you'll want to book your next vacation there. In fact, this ad- 32
33 agency-like adaptation of Louis De Bernières' 1994 book-club favorite turns the 33
34 historical novel into a travel brochure'. Here then we start to see the folding back of 34
35 tourist imagery into the movie – now as a critique, that this is too simply replaying 35
36 clichés of tourist visualization. Thus it points out the positioning of locals as folk 36
37 colour where 'the Greek townsfolk in this history-inspired story glow with ethnic 37
38 pride. Then they dance. Life is hard but photogenic', before finally decrying the 38
39 lack of depth as related to touristic aesthetics 'the passion between Corelli and 39
40 his Pelagia is indistinguishable from the affection the captain demonstrates for 40
41 his mandolin. On this island, theirs is a tourist kind of love'. Channel 4's final 41
42 verdict was 'A fine holiday ad but a rather dull movie'. A similar line, though more 42
43 trenchantly put, can be found where the world socialist website reviewer Richard 43
44 Phillips indeed used the scenic qualities to dismiss the movie as 'touristic': 44

1 Madden has produced a two-hour picture postcard of Celaphonia's winding 1
 2 hillside tracks, pretty villages, golden beaches and turquoise blue seas. The 2
 3 film, which has apparently boosted tourist visits to the island since its release, 3
 4 provides viewers with little understanding of the period. No effort is made to 4
 5 explore the political and emotional motivations of the film's protagonists 5
 6 6
 7 Here image is seen to be covering historical narrative and contention. What is 7
 8 repeatedly remarked upon as unsettling this visual feast of the Mediterranean 8
 9 pastoral is the sound of ~~the~~ it. Not to be sure the opera led score, but rather 9
 10 the creation of what Peter Preston in the *Observer* (6 May 2001) called a fused 10
 11 'zorbaspak' of 'eastern med esperanto', and Peter Bradshaw for *the Guardian* 11
 12 (4 May 2001) decided made for a light 'holiday romance with silly voices on the 12
 13 beautiful sun-kissed island of Cephallonia' 13
 14 Thus we have the damning of the movie for being touristic and the scenery 14
 15 read through as picture postcard encoded tourist imagery. The film does not 15
 16 escape its island. Likewise the assumptions are that this will automatically play 16
 17 into producing increased visitor numbers. So the question this raises is how the 17
 18 imagery thus from the film connects with the tourist aesthetic and the practice of 18
 19 the tourist gaze on the island. And to ~~do so~~ we wish to turn to perhaps the most 19
 20 iconic site on the island. 20
 21 21
 22 22
 23 **The Beach** 23
 24 24
 25 Kefalonia itself trades upon a beach that has become delocalized by its ubiquity. 25
 26 Regularly appearing as 'the beach' in national campaigns is Myrtos beach. It is 26
 27 delocalized in that it appears unnamed and unspecified, and appears in a different 27
 28 view than it does when it was used for the Italian officers' picnic scene in the 28
 29 movie. The conventional shots taken from above and to the North show a squarish 29
 30 bay between massive cliffs in which circulates eye-wateringly blue sea, stirring 30
 31 plumes of milky white sediment before lapping on a blisteringly white beach. 31
 32 While the image is used nationally and ubiquitously, in terms of visiting the 32
 33 island it is simultaneously and repeatedly inscribed in place, with signposts for 33
 34 car hire outside the airport using the beach as the symbol of the island, and more 34
 35 prosaically road signs greeting travelers with the announcement of the impending 35
 36 approach to 'The famous Greek beach' at a mere 25 km or so distance. Indeed 36
 37 then the road is set up with a special viewing point from which you may view 37
 38 the (famous) view of the (famous) beach – safely 5 km travel from getting your 38
 39 toes wet, and as a platform now rather safer than simply stopping on a blind 39
 40 bend rounding a mountain spur, though many happily strolled across that road 40
 41 each day. And if you hang around that viewing point, as we did, taking hour long 41
 42 samples, in an hour you might expect to see 18 groups of people stop, including 42
 43 2 coach parties, but never more than 2 at a time thanks to the careful scheduling 43
 44 of different companies, for an average of 4 minutes for independent travelers and 44
 45

1 a little longer for coaches to allow for disembarking and re-embarking. Those who 1
 2 actually went to the beach would often concur with many guidebooks that the 2
 3 physical experience was an anticlimax since the white turns out to be sharp gravel 3
 4 and the milky plumes show the dangerous rip currents that often stop bathing. 4
 5 Although in high summer the switchback road down to the beach is still often 5
 6 jammed full of parked cars. It seems an almost text book example of an image 6
 7 being promoted and then consumed by tourists. 7

8 And yet being a successful tourist is not so simple as this reading of the signs 8
 9 might imply. As people sat on the viewing platform, they could indeed marvel at 9
 10 the view – and who would not? They would also comment on being there to get 10
 11 ‘the view’ that they knew they had to have, with a degree of self-awareness that this 11
 12 was ‘the picture’ they were meant to take. As the guide on one party we traveled 12
 13 with put it – we did not need to worry because the bus would stop in exactly the 13
 14 best location to let you get ‘that picture’, but please try not to get run over. An 14
 15 injunction to get the picture, with which they and others were largely happy to 15
 16 comply – save some anxieties for those without an authoritative guide, that this 16
 17 was indeed the best point from which to do gain ‘the picture’. Those that stopped 17
 18 at the viewing point would then look around and move off, possibly pausing only 18
 19 to walk round the spur to take an equally stunning view north towards Assos. 19

20 To situate this viewpoint we might look at the range of visualizations of the 20
 21 island. We can also turn to the humble resort map in the brochures which is helpfully 21
 22 outlined with parasols for major beaches and is then divided into lively and quiet 22
 23 resorts, which follow a roughly North South divide. As the *Daily Telegraph* put it 23
 24 ‘Sand is common, but pebbles keep things posh... [in the North there are] women 24
 25 in bikinis (no thongs here), sarongs and sandals’ (*Daily Telegraph* 18 August 2001). 25
 26 Myrtos is firmly in the Northern side of the divide. And of course this chimes with 26
 27 how Greece plays on the myth of the untouched Edenic beach (Lencek and Bosker 27
 28 1998) in its publicity. Empty, and populated only by the occasional couple, the 28
 29 Greek beach of the posters and brochures offers a chance to ‘live the myth’ of 29
 30 romantic solitude – to adapt the GNT0 2005 campaign phrase. 30

31 By contrast the ‘long’ and ‘wide’ beaches (Makri Gyalos) of Lassi found their 31
 32 soft sand densely filled. Here the beach based tourists congregated with beach bars 32
 33 and the like. Such resorts have been characterized as part of the European ‘space 33
 34 that has become the most effective substitute for the time of the breaking-up 34
 35 party, that countryside festival that industrialization eliminated from the calendar 35
 36 of Europeans’ where British tourists ‘give free rein to their true desires, which 36
 37 are none other than making their holidays into a string of Friday nights in their 37
 38 pubs and Saturday mornings in the sunny Mediterranean [...] without there being 38
 39 the slightest hint of the pretension of getting to know other countries and other 39
 40 cultures’ (MVRDV 2000: 107, 117). In this context Galani-Moutafi (2000: 210) 40
 41 notes somewhat acidly of current tourist trends to Greece, that current tourists seek 41
 42 less cultural outlets and more stimulation of the senses – reflected in a tourism 42
 43 marketing imagery mix of sandy beaches, retsina, ouzo, bouzouki and syrtaki 43
 44 44

1 dance capped by the Parthenon. He suggests this is a postmodern tourism which 1
 2 reaches out to affect the audience through immediacy not aesthetic categories 2
 3 In the discourse of the brochure ‘romantic’ here stands in opposition to ‘lively’, 3
 4 with both being readable through a class sensibility. Thus Mytros, even in its high- 4
 5 season crowds was set apart by the image – from so far back figures on the beach 5
 6 blurred – and by the need for cars to visit it and the shingle framing the affordance 6
 7 of the beach. Here class seems writ not only the aesthetics of looking at the beach 7
 8 but the corporeal ways of being upon the beach, through the proximal sensate 8
 9 world of being on the beach, inhabiting the beach as much as the distal world 9
 10 of visual imagery (Obrador-Pons 2007). While it is usual to depict the classes as 10
 11 separated by the more bodily engagement of popular practice this is to misread the 11
 12 simply different haptic practices. It is not here a question of seeking the unspoilt as 12
 13 a marker of class distinction and taste, though that is reflected in the commentary 13
 14 – that seeks to position some as ‘turistas vulgaris’ (Löfgren 1999: 264) who travel 14
 15 in ‘herds’, ‘stampede’ onto beaches, ‘flock’ to see places, and ‘swarm’ around 15
 16 ‘honey-pots’ – nor is this simply a matter then of quests for the next untouched 16
 17 beach, despite the isolation promised in the imagery but often not delivered on the 17
 18 island (Crang 2004). In line with the book and the movie it is a more middle-brow 18
 19 aesthetic and affordance. More mixed and more fragmented. Thus there are more 19
 20 or less knowing performances of the obvious in terms of pictures taken. There is 20
 21 togetherness on beaches and then there are moments of quiet. 21

22

23

24 **Losing Corelli and Evading the Cinematic Gaze**

25

26 So how does one visit Corelli’s Island through this visual and haptic economy? 26
 27 At one level one cannot avoid arriving there – tour reps have to watch the movie 27
 28 as part of their induction, and following the framing in the guides and brochures. 28
 29 And yet what does arriving there mean? One can find the island, one would think, 29
 30 on the bus tour helpfully labelled ‘Corelli’s tours’. And yet this is the same as 30
 31 most others labelled ‘island tours’. What is perhaps remarkable is the absence of 31
 32 Corelli’s island in two registers – both directly through the movie and secondly the 32
 33 island out of time the movie depicts. To begin with thinking about the former there 33
 34 is a deliberate relative absence of Corelli from the explicit tourist marketing on 34
 35 the island. Thus as one British resident writing a review for *The Times* (7 August 35
 36 2007) commented in general: ‘The film was good for Cephalonia. Although the 36
 37 critics panned it, it was a showcase for the island’s scenery and boosted tourist 37
 38 numbers’. And in looking at recent marketing and development she concludes: 38

39

40 the island that is the star of those enticing Greek travel posters... The response 40
 41 to the film of Captain Corelli’s Mandolin, which was made here was a good 41
 42 yardstick of the Cephalonian mindset. On some islands the film would have 42
 43 taken over, but there is only one small restaurant near Sami called Captain 43
 44 Corelli’s, and that’s where the actors and film crew used to eat. 44

45

1 Indeed to be pedantic there are two such cafés though owned by the same person. 1
 2 Indeed his renaming them was the cause of debate. At first it was an example 2
 3 picked upon in many travel articles to suggest a Correlli-mania was sweeping the 3
 4 island in 2001-2. For the locals this notion of themed sites represented something 4
 5 of a trap, and one with which they wrestled then and since. Many worried that 5
 6 branding in this way was counter productive, with a villa holidays specialist being 6
 7 quick to comment of her friend's Captain Corelli's café that she had warned him 7
 8 'My clients would frankly avoid it' as kitsch and being 'too obvious'. Indeed, 8
 9 tourists too often singled out the Café for opprobrium with comments such as 9
 10 'Captain Corelli's café – yeah too obviously a tourist trap'. And this resistance is 10
 11 shared by de Bernières himself 11
 12 12
 13 A good friend of mine ... who runs a cafe in Fiskardo, likes to tell me that 13
 14 I have ruined his island. He is only half serious, I hope, but it is a thing that 14
 15 worries me none the less. I was very displeased to see that a bar in Aghia Efimia 15
 16 has abandoned its perfectly good Greek name, and renamed itself 'Captain 16
 17 Corelli's', and I dread the idea that sooner or later there might be captain Corelli 17
 18 Tours or Pelagia Apartments. I would hate it if Cephallonia were to become as 18
 19 bad as Corfu in places, with rashes of vile discotheques, and bad tavernas full of 19
 20 drunken Brits on two-week, swinish binges (de Bernières 2001: 15). 20
 21 21
 22 This resistance to marketing was embodied in the way the movie's local legacy 22
 23 was handled through the mayor of the small town of Sami. While many marvelled 23
 24 at the way Old Kefalonia was recreated, he had insisted that all physical traces of 24
 25 the movie should be disassembled and removed – to stop the area being damaged 25
 26 by the production. On-site commemoration consisted of to our certain knowledge 26
 27 3 display boards, each some 2 metres by 1.5 metres comprising numerous 15 inch 27
 28 by 25 inch or so stills from the making of the movie and usefully emblazoned in 28
 29 Greek and English with 'Municipality of Sami'. That these boards were cryptic 29
 30 could be judged from the often baffled stance of tourists ambling by, who stopped 30
 31 peered, peered again then ambled away little the wiser. Otherwise the other main 31
 32 relics are indeed representational – with a local photographer in Sami selling stills 32
 33 of the making of the movie, which are syndicated throughout shops in the island, 33
 34 and posters or stills used by businesses, usually to celebrate their (purported) 34
 35 linkage to the making of the moving. Thus one hotel enterprise has signed pictures 35
 36 of Penelope Cruz and director John Madden, to celebrate how it was a base for the 36
 37 movie crew – though not it has to be said Cruz or Madden. 37
 38 To find the relics of the movie producing Corelli's Island was then not a 38
 39 straightforward task. For the dedicated pilgrim one can find guides and books 39
 40 and specific features on the DVD to enable you to start looking. But without these 40
 41 sources there is nothing much there to guide you, and even with them there is 41
 42 little to confirm that the location is indeed correct. Thus the sequence of Pelagia 42
 43 dancing, which established her charm as well as staging Greek folk life as happy 43
 44 and full of spontaneous dance-led festivals, was shot using a deserted village 44

1 threshing floor that it is possible to find – with a car, an hour or two of time and 1
 2 some determination. The main locations where the Greek village was built, or the 2
 3 Italian camp, or the capital city have no distinguishing material marks save the 3
 4 signboards. So while there are restaurants or shops that use the movie in billboards, 4
 5 most typically of Cage and Cruz in an embrace against the setting of the fishing 5
 6 jetty in a tranquil bay (an image from the cover of the edition of the book generally 6
 7 on sale in the island) there is little beyond that invocation or a romantic place. It 7
 8 mobilized, as perhaps nothing else on the island, the idea of the Romantic and 8
 9 secluded beach. 9

10 If we look a bit harder at that example of the fisherman's cove then we can start 10
 11 to see the process of erasure and active resistance to the branding of Corelli. The 11
 12 cove was on no movie maps. And even when equipped with detailed road maps 12
 13 and a fluent Greek speaker, we ended up in the wrong location – to be regaled 13
 14 by the local goatherd who lived there that they should have used his beach. 14
 15 The fisherman's cove setting is also the only place with a physical relic of the 15
 16 movie – the fishing jetty. That this survived was a testament to local government 16
 17 boundaries being in a different municipality than other sites. Having got lost we 17
 18 found the road sign to the beach on a back road through a small village. Indeed, the 18
 19 author made out that it was the sign, despite the local graffiti that had obliterated 19
 20 most of the content and replaced it with directions to the new Athens airport. The 20
 21 locals did not wish, as the owners of the beach put it, 'dirty tourists' to mess up 21
 22 their local beach. Written through this, then, was a sense of local non-commercial 22
 23 use, but also in terms of location the tourists in question were not coach parties of 23
 24 mass tourists. They were tourists in cars, who might go camping, and were thus 24
 25 predominantly Italians over on the ferries. Meanwhile the municipality had not 25
 26 only kept the jetty, but even maintained it – and as a tourist attraction since it was 26
 27 'fake' in that being a film set you could not actually moor boats on it. On this beach 27
 28 a handful of children (mostly from Italian families who had come by car ferry) 28
 29 played, and the occasional boat hired by other tourists was moored. Here, then, 29
 30 the politics of differential possession and mobility changed once more, between 30
 31 the mobile Northern European, the mobile Italian and what *The Times* (without 31
 32 irony) called 'Britannicus hedonisticus' (2 September 2000) that dominated resort 32
 33 beaches in the south and west in the imaginaries of many locals and tourists. 33

34 The second erasure of Corelli's island is the erasure of what it might signify 34
 35 about an authentic and 'old world' Greek society. If we might see that one thing 35
 36 beyond simply natural scenery that the movie portrays, then the world it evokes – a 36
 37 world out of time is markedly absent. Studies on Symi (Damer 2004) and Serifos 37
 38 (Terkenli 1999) point to the role of the vernacular architecture in signifying an 38
 39 everyday Greekness to life. In the case of Serifos, then the urban fabric serves to 39
 40 encode a Greek way of life even as the traditional social activities associated with 40
 41 the built forms have been drained from the built up areas. On Symi the celebration 41
 42 of an atypical romantic architecture is used to mark the island off the coast of 42
 43 Turkey as quintessentially Greek – signifying its belonging in the Hellenic ethnos. 43
 44 But the tragedy of the earthquake in 1953, recorded vividly in the novel though 44

45

1 not the film of Corelli, largely obliterated the distinctive Kefalonian architecture. 1
 2 Only two buildings were left standing in the capital, and now tours are run to 2
 3 the Northern village of Fiskardo that ‘miraculously’ survived. For the film, one 3
 4 drawback on the island was the absence of actual scenery to use – it all had to be 4
 5 built. One advantage is the large number of deserted villages and locations in the 5
 6 mountains, as after the earthquake villages were rebuilt on coastal sites. If tourists 6
 7 are drawn to the built forms of elegant Venetian-influenced townscapes they will 7
 8 be disappointed by their absence. 8

9 For the islanders themselves there is not quite the sense of continuous history, 9
 10 nor the competition for power through social memory in preserving built forms 10
 11 (Herzfeld 1991) or the selective preservation of elite dwellings (Damer 2004). 11
 12 There is a traumatic break in the fabric of memory. Indeed Dr. Ionides’ focus in 12
 13 his *Brief History of Cephallonia* on the gales and tempests of events presages the 13
 14 traumatic times of occupation, civil war and natural disaster in the novel. The novel 14
 15 itself stirred unsettled and angry arguments on the island over the occupation and 15
 16 more so the civil war. De Bernières’ depiction of singing and laughing Italians, 16
 17 versus the German iron military is not regarded as generally representative of the 17
 18 harsh times of the war. In terms of formal monuments to the period, the Italian 18
 19 occupiers, the Aquì division, who were massacred are commemorated by a small 19
 20 monument, set outside the capital. The politics of memory are complicated and 20
 21 convoluted. In a study of Kalymnos, Sutton argued that such memories, traditions 21
 22 and histories played different roles in fashioning and forging notions of local 22
 23 identity (Sutton 1998). Our aim here is not an ethnography of local memory but 23
 24 rather a sense that the history here is both present yet physically absent. The film 24
 25 glossed over and the novel stirred troubled stories, which do not have a generally 25
 26 accepted, monovocal account. The period though speaks to an island before the 26
 27 fall – before the earthquake – so that for locals it is something of a land that 27
 28 time has forgotten. The scenography has become something of a hyperreal history 28
 29 where postcards in shops title ‘Old Argostoli, Kefalonia’ actually show the movie 29
 30 set simulation set in the town of Sami. 30

31 The land of Greek folk custom and vernacular architecture though is scarcely 31
 32 evoked in contemporary tourist development. Many tourist related business are 32
 33 wary of speaking of the earthquake – worrying seismic instability is not a great 33
 34 selling point for the island – and as noted the physical fabric is largely destroyed 34
 35 or ruinous, and often located away from the new villages that have become tourist 35
 36 centres. So there is a sense of lost world haunting the island but not one that 36
 37 speaks to many of the visitors. In the tourist village of Skala, perhaps the largest 37
 38 resort on the southern coast, there is a map showing the old village in a guide. It 38
 39 is a photocopied amateur booklet, buried amid the glossy materials on display 39
 40 in kiosks, drawn from memory and hardly a major device in shaping touristic 40
 41 practices. 41

42 So for all the clamour and excitement the island of Corelli is hardly there. 42
 43 People may come and seek it, and if they come they can hardly miss it, yet also it is 43
 44 curiously hard to actually find. For locals there is clearly a pride in the movie, both 44

1 for its depiction of the island but rather than its account of their history the making 1
 2 of the movie is celebrated more as an event in itself in their history. Thus locals 2
 3 retain memorabilia and memories, and the pictures and posters seem as much a 3
 4 celebration of their part in the movie ~~and~~ the movie was of the island. It does perhaps 4
 5 enhance their already existing determination to preserve the natural scenery and 5
 6 avoid the large and visually intrusive commercial development found on some 6
 7 other islands. For locals it thus represents both a threat of commercialization and 7
 8 an opportunity for marketing the island for romantic tranquil tourism. It thus 8
 9 becomes a stake in the exchange between sand and shingle, mass and romantic 9
 10 tourism for the island. In this though the book perhaps mediates a sense that the 10
 11 result is not about elite versus mass but variants around the middle brow. 11

12

13

14 Conclusion 14

15

16 Captain Corelli and Kefalonia seem at first glance to have all the makings of the 16
 17 tightest of fits in movie-related tourism. But in the end Corelli's Island is a phantasm 17
 18 for tourists, locals and academics. For locals the phantasms are multiform, with 18
 19 the spectre of mass tourism often mentioned, while the turbulent past and the loss 19
 20 of the old villages remains for many. Using Derrida's spectral analysis, we could 20
 21 claim that Kefalonia lives through its own ruins where the present landscape is 21
 22 produced out of a process of construction through destruction, through multiple 22
 23 deaths (Wigley 1993: 43; Derrida 1994). There are the ruins from the earthquake 23
 24 haunting the present landscape with architectural traces of a past forever lost and 24
 25 then, there are the ruins of the filmic space representing a reinvented past that 25
 26 returns to the present landscape to haunt it with memories *in absentia*. 'Derrida's 26
 27 "spectral analysis", after all, involves the return of a ghost' (Crang and Travlou 27
 28 2001: 174). 28

29 For visitors, the movie clearly plays off a number of tropes of the romantic 29
 30 island in general, rural folk and Greeks in particular. It fosters and creates a sense 30
 31 of an idyllic love story set out of time. This scripting of the island plays up a set 31
 32 of affordances that speak to the possibilities for a romantic tourist destination. 32
 33 Indeed wedding tourism has become a niche but growing market for the island. Is 33
 34 this directly attributable to the movie? It is hard to find direct links between visitor 34
 35 practice and the movie or book. It is quite hard to avoid indirect links, however. 35
 36 What we might find then is rather that the book and film are part of a currency 36
 37 where locals and others imagine a tourism appeal ~~to a tourism~~ that engages not 37
 38 in the carnivalesque, hedonism of many resorts but [^]what Jansson (2002) calls the 38
 39 imaginative hedonism that consists of sublated satisfactions in the symbolic realm, 39
 40 here in terms of romantic scenery. Corelli opens the possibility for people to feel 40
 41 and connect with a romantic sense of a different world, and a sympathetic sense 41
 42 of scenery. It creates an imagined *topos* but one read through the contemporary 42
 43 interests of tourism as much as the historic lens of the movie. People do not seek 43
 44 out the movie but what the movie shows the island offers to tourists. In this sense 44

45

1 the film makes Kefalonia stand out from among other Greek islands for offering 1
 2 those possibilities. The film does this rather than the book, since it offers the 2
 3 visualization of the scenery that potential tourists could not accomplish on their 3
 4 own. For academics, hunting for the example of tight linkage of movie, spectators 4
 5 and visitors like pilgrims then it is also phantasm. The influence is widespread yet 5
 6 modest. Far from being at the extreme end of the typologies of fans travelling to 6
 7 sites, it is more diffuse yet undeniably present in how many relate to the island. The 7
 8 island becomes a space of constructed visibility, one where the tourist visuality of 8
 9 beach and sand, mass tourism and romantic solitude overlaps only partly with a 9
 10 cinematic vision of myth and lost times. Despite the overcoding of book and film 10
 11 on the island, the local response has held a gap between the cinematic and touristic 11
 12 appropriation of the island. 12

13

14

15 References 15

16

17 Acland, C. 1998. Imax technology and the tourist gaze. *Cultural Studies*, 12(3), 17
 18 429-445. 18

19 Busby, G. and J. Klug 2002. Movie-induced tourism: the challenge of measurement 19
 20 and other issues. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 7(4), 316-332. 20

21 Connell, J. 2005. Toddlers, tourism and Tobermory: destination marketing issues 21
 22 and television-induced tourism. *Tourism Management*, 26, 763-76. 22

23 Crang, M. 1997. Picturing practices: research through the tourist gaze. *Progress in* 23
 24 *Human Geography*, 21(3): 359-74. 24

25 Crang, M. 2003. Placing Jane Austen, displacing England: touring between book, 25
 26 history and nation, in *Jane Austen and Co. Remaking the Past in Contemporary* 26
 27 *Culture*, edited by S. Pucci and J. Thompson. New York: SUNY Press, 111-132. 27

28 Crang, M. 2004. Cultural geographies of tourism, in *A Companion to Tourism*, 28
 29 edited by A. Lew, A. Williams and C. M. Hall. Oxford: Blackwells, 74-84. 29

30 Damer, S. 2004. Signifying Symi: setting and performance on a Greek island. 30
 31 *Ethnography*, 5(2), 203-228. 31

32 Dann, G. 1996. The people of tourist brochures, in *The Tourist Image: Myths and* 32
 33 *Myth Making in Modern Tourism*, edited by T. Selwyn. Chichester: Wiley, 61- 33
 34 82. 34

35 de Bernières, L. 2001. Introduction. *Captain Corelli's Mandolin: The Illustrated* 35
 36 *Film Companion*. Edited by S. Clark. London, Headline Books, 9-15. 36

37 Derrida, J. 1994. *Specters of Marx: The State of Debt, the Work of Mourning and* 37
 38 *the New International*. London: Routledge. 38

39 Galani-Moutafi, V. 2000. The self and the other: traveller, ethnographer, tourist. 39
 40 *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(1), 203-24. 40

41 Herzfeld, M. 1991. *A Place in History : Social and Monumental Time in a Cretan* 41
 42 *Town*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press. 42

43 Hudson, S. and Ritchie, J. 2006a. Film tourism and destination marketing: the case 43
 44 of Captain Corelli's Mandolin. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 12(3), 256-68. 44

- 1 Hudson, S. and Ritchie, J. 2006b. Promoting destinations via film tourism: an
2 empirical identification of supporting marketing initiatives. *Journal of Travel*
3 *Research*, 44, 387–396.
- 4 Jansson, A. 2002. Spatial phantasmagoria: the mediatization of tourism experience.
5 *European Journal of Communication*, 17(4): 429–43.
- 6 Kim, H. and Richardson, S.L. 2003. Motion picture impacts on destination images.
7 *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30(1), 216–37.
- 8 Lencek, L. and Bosker, G. 1998. *The Beach: The History of Paradise on Earth*.
9 London: Secker & Warburg.
- 10 Löfgren, O. 1999. *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing*. Berkeley, CA: University
11 of California Press.
- 12 Macionis, N. 2004. *Understanding the Film-Induced Tourist*. International Tourism
13 and Media Conference Proceedings. Melbourne, Monash University.
- 14 MVRDV 2000. *Costa Iberica*. Barcelona: Actar.
- 15 Norris Nicholson, H. 2006. Through the Balkan states: home movies as travel
16 texts and tourism histories in the Mediterranean, c.1923–39. *Tourist Studies*
17 6(1), 13–36.
- 18 Obrador-Pons, P. 2007. A haptic geography of the beach: naked bodies, vision and
19 touch. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 8(1), 123–141.
- 20 Papadimitrou, L. 2000. Travelling on screen: tourism and the Greek film musical.
21 *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 18, 95–104.
- 22 Riley, R., Baker D. and Van Doren, C. 1998. Movie Induced Tourism. *Annals of*
23 *Tourism Research*, 25(4), 919–35.
- 24 Sheppard, R. 2002. Savagery, salvage, slaves and salvation: the historico-
25 theological debate of Captain Corelli's Mandolin. *Journal of European Studies*,
26 32(1), 51–61.
- 27 Sutton, D. 1998. *Memories Cast in Stone: The Relevance of the Past in Everyday*
28 *Life*. Oxford: Berg.
- 29 Terkenli, T. S. 1999. Livadi, Serifos, place identity, in *Tourism and the Environment:*
30 *Regional, Economic, Cultural, and Policy Issues*, edited by H. Briassoulis and
31 J. van der Straaten. Dordrecht: Springer, 179–203.
- 32 Tooke, N. and Baker, M. 1996. Seeing is believing: the effect of film on visitor
33 numbers to screened locations. *Tourism Management*, 17(2), 87–94.
- 34 Tzanelli, R. 2003a. 'Casting' the Neohellenic 'Other': Tourism, the Culture
35 Industry and Contemporary Orientalism in 'Captain Corelli's Mandolin'
36 (2001). *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 3(2), 217–44.
- 37 Tzanelli, R. 2003b. 'Disciplining' the Neohellenic character: records of Anglo-
38 Greek encounters and the development of ethnological historical discourse.
39 *History of the Human Sciences*, 16(3), 21–50.
- 40 Urry, J. 1990. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*.
41 London: Sage.
- 42 Wigley, M. 1993. *The Architecture of Deconstruction: Derrida's Haunt*. Cambridge,
43 MA.: MIT Press.
- 44
- 45

Proof Copy

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44

Chapter 5

The Mediterranean Pool: Cultivating
Hospitality in the Coastal Hotel

Pau Obrador Pons

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44

Introduction

As the main provider of hospitality to mass tourism, the coastal hotel occupies a prominent position – both physically and symbolically – on the coastlines of the Mediterranean. The coastal hotel is a typical space of our times, which as with the case of the airport (Gottdiener 2001) and the shopping mall (Goss 1993), responds to the abstract principles of movement and commodification. It is a smooth and fluid site, notorious for its homogeneity and lack of character, a fleeting environment where people come and go and which does not encompass the stability and endurance traditionally associated with place and community. Although in recent years new models have emerged, most coastal hotels are still built according to an standardized formula: three or four stars, relatively close to the beach, a big pool at the centre, exuberant vegetation and an architectural style that was modernist in the 1960s and now is increasingly more pastiche. It may be a highly commodified space, but it is one in which millions of tourists have fun, relax and socialize every summer. Coastal hotels, and in particular their pools, are theatres of sociality and distraction that sit right in the middle of the Mediterranean tourist experience.

The significance of the coastal hotel as a tourist experience has been consistently overlooked. Despite being one of the prime tourist spaces in the Mediterranean there are very few examples of research that examine what is actually going on by the hotel pool, the work of Andrews (2000, 2006) being a rare exception. When the coastal hotel features in tourism literature, it does so mostly in the context of relations of production (Buhalis 2000) as an example of neofordism (Ioannides and Debbage 1998) or as a context for exploring the significance of gender in tourist employment (Sinclair 1997). Tourism literature is consistent with the social sciences' view of the hotel lobby, which emphasizes the inhabitability of contemporary spatialities. While bringing to light the economic principles underpinning mass tourism, tourism literature effectively 'follows the logic of the corpse' (Thrift 2004: 83), draining spaces of hospitality of meaning, emotion and social relations. Similarly most hospitality literature focuses exclusively on the economic order of things, undervaluing the everyday relationships and practices through which the coastal hotel is consumed. In the work of Buhalis, Sinclair and

1 Ioannides and Debbage, little attention is paid to the actual experience of staying 1
 2 in a hotel, the mundane forms of hospitality that underpin the economies of mass 2
 3 tourism. In the coastal hotel we are confronted with the inability of the social 3
 4 sciences to make sense of contemporary spaces, ephemeral experiences and the 4
 5 banal. 5

6 This chapter contrasts general statements about the inhabitability of 6
 7 contemporary spatialities with an ethnographic account of day to day uses of 7
 8 the coastal hotel. Reexamining theoretical statements in the light of ethnographic 8
 9 material in this way allows us to break with the impasse of dominant perspectives, 9
 10 thus engaging more productively with the actual tourist experience of the 10
 11 Mediterranean. Taking my research, conducted on site at two hotel pools, as my case 11
 12 study, the chapter draws attention to the pressures and pleasures of sociality which 12
 13 inhabit the coastal hotel. The focus of this chapter is on the fleeting and mundane 13
 14 moments of hospitality, the network of performances of hosting and guesting that 14
 15 makes the coastal hotel livable. I am interested in how hospitality and sociality 15
 16 are organized and made meaningful by the pool, dwelling in particular in the role 16
 17 of commercial hospitality in promoting and producing convivial economies and 17
 18 a sense of being together. This chapter therefore reflects on the nature of social 18
 19 relations between people in the highly commodified and fleeting environments 19
 20 of mass tourism where the categories of host and guest are uncertain. Inspired 20
 21 by recent discussions on commercial spaces of food and drink (Bell 2007a, 21
 22 2007b, Latham 2003, Mozl and Gibson 2007), that draw on Derridian notions 22
 23 of hospitality (Derrida 2000, Deutscher 2005), the chapter moves away from the 23
 24 social sciences's emphasis on the inhabitability of contemporary spatialities to 24
 25 consider the coastal hotel in terms of hospitality. Ideas of hospitality offer the 25
 26 possibility of addressing the sociality of the coastal hotel without reverting to 26
 27 notions of organic community. 27

28 This chapter is organized in three sections. The first section examines 28
 29 dominant perspectives on contemporary spatialities, which tend to emphasize the 29
 30 inhabitability of the generic landscapes of late capitalism, and their suitability 30
 31 for the study of mass tourism. The second section develops an alternative 31
 32 understanding based on Derridan notions of hospitality and Maffesoli's analysis 32
 33 of contemporary cultural life, opening up mass tourism to new forms of analysis 33
 34 which are less hostile to this tourist phenomenon (1996). The chapter finishes with 34
 35 an ethnographic analysis of practices of hospitality and inhabitability in the hotel 35
 36 pool, the main communal area in the coastal hotel. This ethnographic approach 36
 37 allows me to contrast the important day to day experiences of being in the coastal 37
 38 hotel with the discourse that would see these places as lifeless and inauthentic. 38
 39 This chapter is based on my doctoral research that I carried out in two large hotels 39
 40 in the island of Menorca (Spain). Both hotels are paradigmatic of 'sun, sea and 40
 41 sand' tourism, which in Menorca is predominantly family orientated. The research 41
 42 combined participant observation and serial interviews with groups of British 42
 43 tourists. I spent a total of three weeks in each hotel, interviewing 70 people in total. 43
 44 In order to produce a full account of their holidays, each group was interviewed 44

1 once every three or four days for a period of between 20 minutes and one hour. 1
 2 The respondents were also asked to fill in time diaries. During my time in the hotel 2
 3 I also participate in a number of entertainment activities and carry out systematic 3
 4 description of the communal areas. 4

5 5
 6 6

7 **The Inhabitability of Contemporary Spaces** 7

8 8

9 The coastal hotel is paradigmatic of the landscape of late capitalism, a smooth, 9
 10 nomadic frictionless site that responds to the principles of movement and 10
 11 commodification. The proliferation of generic landscapes has been a major 11
 12 concern of contemporary cultural theory. The question occupies a prominent 12
 13 position in the work of the twentieth century critics of space and everyday life 13
 14 including Benjamin, Simmel, Kracauer, Foucault, De Certeau, Augé and Debord. 14
 15 However, the dominant view has been primarily negative. Most critics are deeply 15
 16 suspicious of the proliferation of highly commodified and fluid spaces such as the 16
 17 coastal hotel. Contemporary spatialities have been conceived mainly in terms of 17
 18 (in)habitability and failure, reenacting a nostalgia for organic communities. As 18
 19 Buchanan and Lambert explain ‘at stake is the practical problem of what it takes 19
 20 to make space habitable, to make places from sites where the active place making 20
 21 infrastructure (tradition, memory, habit and so forth) had been either destroyed or 21
 22 displace’ (2005: 2). There is a general conviction that contemporary spatialities 22
 23 are at best highly ambivalent and very often essentially unlivable. This section 23
 24 considers to what extent the social science’s emphasis on the inhabitability of 24
 25 contemporary spatialities provides a compelling basis for analyzing the tourist 25
 26 realities of the coastal hotel. 26

27 There is a long tradition of thought that addresses the changing nature of 27
 28 contemporary spatialities. Simmel’s conceptualization of the stranger (1971) 28
 29 together with Benjamin’s work on arcades, are two of the earliest and most 29
 30 influential analyses. The figure of the stranger, that for Simmel embodies the 30
 31 contradictory experience of the modern everyday (Allen 2000), speaks of the 31
 32 difficulties of dwelling in the contemporary fluid spaces of the metropolis. His 32
 33 take on contemporary spatialities is marked by a fundamental ambivalence. 33
 34 While seduced by the freedom and excitement of the modern city, the metropolis 34
 35 is identified as the breeding ground of all sorts of diseases attributed to spatial 35
 36 conditions. For Simmel, the disease is the blasé, a modern attitude of indifference 36
 37 and insubstantiality. Modern life, with its sharp intensification of nervous 37
 38 stimulations, results in a feeling of loneliness and indifference that impregnates 38
 39 human existence (Simmel 1997). While Simmel addresses the modern condition 39
 40 of estrangement as well as the changing relations of proximity and distance in the 40
 41 metropoli, Buchanan and Lambert point out he is not yet ‘prepared to consider the 41
 42 possibility of spaces that are constitutively uninhabitable’ (2005: 3); in Simmel 42
 43 estrangement goes hand in hand with freedom. There is no such hesitation in the 43
 44 work of Foucault, De Certeau, Debord and in particular Augé, where the generic 44

45

1 landscapes of late capitalism are dismissed as unhomely and empty (Buchanan 1
 2 and Lambert 2005: 3). Augé (1995) speaks of a contemporary super modernity 2
 3 multiplying uninhabitable spatialities like airports, highways and petrol stations 3
 4 (Augé 2000), a permanent elsewhere 'in which people are always and never at 4
 5 home' (1995: 109). His work relies on a distinction between *place*, which can 5
 6 be defined as 'relational, historical and concerned with identity' (1995: 77) and 6
 7 *non-place*, which fails to confer the affect of place, creating instead solitary 7
 8 individualities. Non-places, which for Augé would include the coastal hotel, 8
 9 are smooth, streamlined spaces surrounded by the fleeting, the temporary and 9
 10 the ephemeral in which abstract and contractual relations prevail over organic 10
 11 solidarities. 11

12 Writing in the 1930s, Sigfried Kracauer translates this suspicion of contemporary 12
 13 spatialities to the hotel lobby, while maintaining a sense of ambiguity. For 13
 14 Kracauer the hotel lobby is a spatial metaphor of the emptiness and homelessness 14
 15 that characterize modernity (Katz 1999, Tallack 2002, Mülder-Bach 1997, Reeh 15
 16 1998). The hotel is identified as the inverted image of the house of god, as 'the 16
 17 space that does not refer beyond itself' (1995: 176–7). It is not a site of meaning, 17
 18 transcendence or organic community but of superficiality, void and fragmentation. 18
 19 'Whereas in the house of God a creature emerges which sees itself as a supporter 19
 20 of the community, in the hotel lobby what emerges is the inessential foundation 20
 21 at the basis of rational socialization. It approaches the nothing and takes shape by 21
 22 analogy with the abstract and formal *universal concepts* through which thinking 22
 23 (...) believes can grasp the world' (1995: 179). In the hotel there is no meaning or 23
 24 purpose in being together. Hotels are sites of pure coincidences where people and 24
 25 events have no other relation to each other than the fact that they happen to be in 25
 26 the same place at the same time. Like the non-place, the hotel is a spatial desert, 26
 27 trackless and depthless, the quintessential nomadic space, smooth and open to 27
 28 traffic. Its depthlessness and abstract character makes the hotel lobby 'a herbarium 28
 29 of pure externality', a site of pure distraction and mere play 'an aimless lounging, 29
 30 to which no call is addressed, leads to the mere play that elevates the unserious 30
 31 everyday to the level of the serious' (Kracauer 1995: 179). 31

32 The tourist realities of the coastal hotel sit uneasily with this tradition of thought. 32
 33 The popularity of the coastal hotel poses an intellectual challenge to the social 33
 34 sciences' emphasis on alienation and commodification, in particular to the idea 34
 35 that commodified spaces inevitably lead to commodified experiences. Dominant 35
 36 perspectives tend to ignore the specificity, multiplicity and locatedness of all 36
 37 human engagement with the world. Arguments for the impossibility of dwelling 37
 38 in contemporary spaces depend on an undervalorization of the everyday social 38
 39 relations and practices these spaces afford. The work of Kracauer (1995) and Augé 39
 40 (1995) show little interest in how individuals and groups go about building a world 40
 41 in highly commodified spaces, insisting instead on an abstract 'ratio' of capitalism 41
 42 shadowing the creativity and spontaneity of the subject. 'Individuals are nothing 42
 43 more than members of an audience' – Hetherington explains – 'they exist outside 43
 44 of their own bodies. They cannot encounter the world other than as isolated and 44

1 static members of an audience' (1998: 61). In emphasizing the inhabitability of
 2 contemporary spatialities, dominant perspectives reproduce the values of high
 3 art, in particular an anxiety over massification. A fear of cultural alienation
 4 and massification are persistent themes in the social sciences and illustrate a
 5 celebration of bourgeois aesthetic principles. For most critics, 'the heroic bourgeois
 6 *Persönlichkeit* self-reflexive and motivated by commitment to the rigors of a self-
 7 disciplining vocation, is taken as the ideal personality' (Hetherington 1998: 46).
 8 Cultural forms such as the coastal hotel that depart from this individualistic self-
 9 reflexive ideal are seen as a sign of moral decline.

10 To make sense of the coastal hotel it is necessary to engage more positively with
 11 the particular kinds of spaces and social practices associated with mass tourism. We
 12 need to move beyond notions of commodification and alienation to examine how
 13 tourists actually inhabit and make space in the coastal hotel. Rather than adopting
 14 Augé's point of view, this chapter takes as its starting point the conclusions of
 15 Crang (2002) on how to think of interstitial places and ephemeral moments. Crang
 16 concludes that 'they are not just liminal or threshold spaces, though there is that
 17 element. Nor are they simply places of homogenized, commodified experience;
 18 nor just the rationality of scheduling and "flow management", through they rely
 19 upon both. The few examples above suggest they are also places of fantasy and
 20 desire, places of inclusion and exclusion, and social milieux for different groups
 21 of people.' A few lines later he reiterates 'They are not places where people are
 22 at home, though they are familiar. They are not just the absence of "organic
 23 community" but offer different pleasures and pressures of sociality when the
 24 situation is ephemeral from the start' (Crang 2002: 573). The coastal hotel is
 25 not simply a place of liminality, nor of commodification or the disintegration of
 26 organic communities. The hotel, like the swimming pool (Molotch 2000) or the
 27 bus (Hutchinson 2000) is also a site of relevant social and cultural practices that
 28 speak to identity, fantasy, sociality and exclusion. It is these social and cultural
 29 practices, 'these pleasures and pressures of sociality', which form the basis of this
 30 chapter. Before I examine them in more detail however I would like to sketch out
 31 a different perspective of coastal hotel, drawing on recent discussions of spaces of
 32 hospitality (Bell 2007a, 2007b, Molz and Gibson 2007) and postmodern socialities
 33 (Maffesoli 1996).

34

35

36 **From Inhabitability to Hospitality**

37

38 In this section I consider the coastal hotel in terms of hospitality rather than
 39 inhabitability in an attempt to open up mass tourism to new forms of analysis
 40 which are less hostile to it as a tourist phenomenon. The main appeal of the idea
 41 of hospitality is the possibility of thinking the sociality of the coastal hotel without
 42 recurring to notions of organic community, alienation or commodification, as
 43 Bell explains, 'it offers ways of being-with-others which are inaccessible through
 44 community' (2007a: 10). Philosophies of hospitality have found their way into the

45

1 social sciences through the work of Jacques Derrida (2000) and its application by 1
 2 a number of social scientists (Deutscher 2005, Molz and Gibson 2007). Derrida's 2
 3 work on this issue has been highly influential, 'reinvigorating theoretical and 3
 4 philosophical debates about ways of relating, about host and guest' (Bell 2007a: 4
 5 9). The work of Derrida on hospitality has to be understood in the context of 5
 6 his discomfort with ideas of community and cultural identity; in particular with 6
 7 the politics of self-other relations that opposes the identity and belongingness of 7
 8 the host against the movement, shifting and instability of the guest. 'For Derrida' 8
 9 – Caputo explains – 'one must watch out for the ways tradition and community 9
 10 become excuses for conservatism, for the exclusion of the incoming of the other, 10
 11 and hence, constitute as much threat as premise, as much a trap as a tap' (1997: 11
 12 109). Rather than emphasizing closeness and similarity, the Derridian approach to 12
 13 hospitality opens up ways of thinking about difference, inviting and welcoming 13
 14 the other. 'Derrida reacts not by denouncing the very idea of cultural identity, 14
 15 but by deconstructing it, which does not mean laying it to the ground or leaving 15
 16 it in shambles but opening it to difference' (Caputo 1997:114). In examining the 16
 17 nuanced fluidity of the categories of host and guest in mass tourism this chapter 17
 18 embraces Derrida's critique of the notion of hospitality as well as his demand to 18
 19 open it up. 19

20 Notions of hospitality allow us to engage more positively with the pleasures 20
 21 and pressures of sociality in the coastal hotel, unblocking the impasse of dominant 21
 22 perspectives generally oblivious to the life that the generic landscapes of late 22
 23 capitalism afford. Rather than emphasizing the disappearance of community, 23
 24 Derridian ideas provide an opportunity to address the significance of mundane 24
 25 forms of hospitality and an ethics of conviviality in the composition of contemporary 25
 26 spatialities. There is more to the coastal hotel than commodification and alienation. 26
 27 They are theatres of sociality animated by a series of hosting and guesting 27
 28 performances as well as a variety of social encounters and modalities. Its success 28
 29 depends upon the mobilization of certain ways of inhabiting and being together 29
 30 that transgress the stability associated with organic communities. The enactment 30
 31 of a welcoming feel is critical for the coastal hotel. Derridian notions of hospitality 31
 32 shift the question from the possibility of social life to its differential organization 32
 33 in a fleeting environment full of strangers that come and go. Recent discussions 33
 34 have explored the potential of bringing together philosophies of hospitality and 34
 35 hospitality studies. The edited collection edited by Molz and Gibson (2007) and 35
 36 Bell's progress report (2007a) are the latest and most explicit attempts. Focusing 36
 37 on spaces of commercial food and drink, Bell looks at how certain version of 37
 38 hospitality are woven into urban regeneration schemes. As well as responding to 38
 39 commercial imperatives, the new bars and restaurants emerging in the city play 39
 40 a vital role in the production of new urban identities and modes of living in the 40
 41 city. They are an important part of making 'the hospitable city' (2007a: 8). The 41
 42 link between the processes of urban regeneration, commercial hospitality and the 42
 43 mobilization of hospitality also forms the basis of Latham's work on a gentrifying 43
 44 neighbourhood in Auckland, New Zealand. For Latham 'what is happening there 44

1 is about more than an aesthetic of consumption' (2003:1706). The new cafés and
2 bars that have emerged in Ponsby Road have acted as 'a key conduit for a new
3 style of inhabiting the city' (2003: 1710). A new polymorphous public culture has
4 been organized around spaces of consumption. 'Consumption has quite literally
5 helped to build a new world' (2003: 1713). As with the case of the new spaces of
6 food and drink, the coastal hotel cannot be reduced to narrow economic relations.
7 A typical site of our time, it also speaks a language of culture, identity and sociality
8 in novel ways.

9 The dominant forms of sociality in the coastal hotel consist of fleeting
10 and mundane experiences mostly dedicated to the pursuit of fun. The kind of
11 sociality coastal hotels afford are in most cases insubstantial and do not rely on
12 a communal project or ideology but on warm companionship and the physicality
13 of being together and having fun. The crucial point is the act of creation as such,
14 the puissance of everyday life. Maffesoli's analysis of contemporary cultural life
15 is conceptually useful for thinking these 'light touch forms of sociality' (Thrift
16 2005). It provides us with a description of the dominant forms of hospitality in
17 contemporary spatialities. The main virtue of Maffesoli's approach is that he
18 centres his analysis of contemporary cultural life in the expressive realm of feeling
19 and emotion (Hetherington 1998: 53). Maffesoli speaks of the rise of neo-tribalism,
20 a new form of sociality which is affective, elective and tribal in character. There
21 is a new kind of 'holism taking shape before our eyes: throwing wide the doors of
22 privacy, sentiment takes over, and in certain countries its presence is reinforced in
23 the public sphere, thus producing a form of solidarity that can no longer be denied'
24 (1996: 16). The emphasis of Maffesoli is on the flickering practices of hospitality
25 in a mobile world. In contrast with the stability induced by classical tribalism, neo-
26 tribalism is a kind of gathering that is fluid and ephemeral. What binds together
27 these contemporary groupings is not a rational project or an ideology but simply
28 an ambience, a lifestyle or an emotion. 'We are witnessing the tendency for a
29 rationalized social to be replaced by an empathetic sociality, which is expressed
30 by a succession of ambiances, feelings and emotions' (1996: 11). The solidarity,
31 the holism, that binds people together in contemporary neo-tribes does not derive
32 from the institutional world of politics but from the puissance of everyday life, the
33 expressive life of the individual. What is important is the moment, the execution
34 of being together and creation for its own sake. In contemporary groupings
35 solidarity is expressed in the mundane everyday through quite trivial elements.
36 As Maffesoli points out 'having a few drinks, chatting with friends; the anodyne
37 conversations punctuating everyday life enable an exteriorization of the self and
38 thus create the specific aura which binds us together within tribalism' (1996: 25).
39 The fleeing environment of the coastal hotel responds well to Maffesoli's analysis
40 of contemporary cultural life with its emphasis in conviviality and fun.

41
42
43
44

45

1 The Pool

Nowhere in the Mediterranean resort are the 'light touch forms of sociality' underpinning this tourist phenomenon so evident as at the hotel pool. As such, it is a paradigmatic example of the significance of mundane forms of hospitality and of an ethics of conviviality in mass tourism. The pool is the main communal area of the coastal hotel and an important part of the Mediterranean experience. A large proportion of tourists spend their holiday time, up to six hours a day, lazing by the pool, sunbathing, reading, chatting and swimming. Contrasting sharply with the romantic excitement and sublimity of the beach, the pool is a much more down to earth social space, generally associated with notions of immediacy, informality and simplicity. As in the case of the café (Laurier and Philo 2004) the way of inhabiting and being together by the pool is marked by a sense of the mundane and the banal. The hotel pool cannot be reduced to a matter of commodification and alienation. It is first and foremost a space of conviviality, hedonism and relaxation, the success of which depends upon the mobilization of ephemeral and playful ways of inhabiting and being together. The pool is the main stage for the enactment of the warmly and welcoming atmosphere that identifies Mediterranean mass tourism.

Drawing on Derridian notions of hospitality (Derrida 2000) and Maffesoli's affective socialities (1996), this section develops an ethnographic account of this mundane social life in two hotel pools on the island of Menorca. The focus is on how people create a living space and relate with others by the pool as well as on the social forms and structures of feeling that this environment contains. This sense of the mundane incorporates three different dimensions (Binnie et al. 2007). Firstly, the informal and easy feel of the pool. The hotel pool is fundamentally a space for doing nothing other than sitting on a chair or lying on a sun bed, reading a thriller, filling in a crossword or floating on a lilo. Mundanity here conveys a 'negative' experience of relaxation, liberation and retreat from the constraints of public life. There is no consistent utopia associated with the pool that can provide a glimpse of an alternative life. Secondly, the hotel pool emphasizes domesticity. As well as the fluidity and insubstantiality of neo-tribalism, in the hotel pool we find the enactment of workable utopias related with familial and national identities. The pool is a world of families, children and play, a site of enduring social forms. Thirdly, the excessive character of the mundane complicates the picture further. A retreat from public life, the pool also functions as an space for the cultivation of mundane skills and sensibilities. The pool offers the possibility to explore the limits of hedonism and learn the difficult art of splashing out, showing off and doing nothing. As well as a gap, the pool is a space and a practice of subjectification, a site of becoming, at the heart of which there are often dreams of luxury. These three aspects of the mundane are explored in this section through a description of various elements that make up the social fabric of the pool including conviviality, domesticity, hostility, boredom and the gaze.



Figure 5.1 Drinking game by the pool

Conviviality

The pool is a theatre of sociality, the success of which depends upon forging a friendly and warm atmosphere in a context where people do not necessarily know each other. Meeting other tourists, having a laugh with friends over a drink, and playing with your children in the water are some of the main pleasures that tourists find by the pool. A sense of conviviality is intrinsic to the design of the pool, a communal space that sits at the centre of the coastal hotel and brings people together for prolonged periods of time. The pool, with its distinctive easy-going feel, affords plenty of moments of hospitality and friendliness, while lying on sun beds, queuing at the bar or playing with the children. Being-by-the-pool is about enjoying the company of others in an informal manner, be they friends, family or strangers. 'Light touch forms of sociality' are prevalent by the pool. Rather than a place of lasting relations and profound conversations the pool is one of occasional gatherings, spontaneous chats and fleeting encounters. The social life of the pool

1 is a good example of the kind of sociality that Maffesoli (1996) associates with 1
 2 neotribalism. It is an ephemeral and fluid kind of sociality that does not rely on 2
 3 an ideological project, but on 'warm companionship' as well as the physicality of 3
 4 being together. The prevalence of 'light touch forms of sociality' was evident in 4
 5 my ethnographic research on coastal hotels. Most of my respondents identified a 5
 6 friendly and easy atmosphere as one of the main attractions of the pool. Alison 6
 7 from Sussex, for example confirmed that 'we stay here because well they [the 7
 8 children] do like it and it's easier. But there is more chance to meet English people 8
 9 and to make friends with them'. The mobilization of hospitality is central to the 9
 10 workings of pool. 10

11 The convivial character of the pool is actively engineered through organized 11
 12 entertainment. Coastal hotels usually offer an activity programme that covers day 12
 13 an evening and is aimed at both at adults and children. The primary aim is to 13
 14 create a warm and friendly holiday environment. The entertainment programme 14
 15 is a conscious effort to mobilize 'light touch forms of sociality'. Take for example 15
 16 the drinking game pictured in Figure 6.1. At 1pm every day the entertainment 16
 17 team appear 'by surprise' in the pool announcing a drinking a game. Wearing 17
 18 fancy dresses, in this case skintight skeleton suits and green masks, they go around 18
 19 the pool area making lots of noise and encouraging people to participate. Once 19
 20 there are enough participants the game properly starts. It is normally a very simple 20
 21 21



22 22
 23 23
 24 24
 25 25
 26 26
 27 27
 28 28
 29 29
 30 30
 31 31
 32 32
 33 33
 34 34
 35 35
 36 36
 37 37
 38 38
 39 39
 40 40
 41 41
 42 **Figure 5.2** A family posing for a picture with the entertainment team on 42
 43 the last day of their holiday 43
 44 44

1 game, in this case a dice version of pontoon. Using a dice, the participants have to 1
 2 get as close as possible to seven and half without going too far. The holidaymaker 2
 3 who gets closest gets a free cocktail that she/he has to drink all at once standing on 3
 4 a chair in front of the public. The event is short, funny and uncompromising; it is 4
 5 about laughing and making fun. Using circus techniques, the entertainment team 5
 6 is able to create a festive and friendly atmosphere. The key to its success is not 6
 7 the game itself but the fact that the activity leaders are acting like clowns, making 7
 8 jokes, being funny and spontaneous. What is important here is the ambience of fun 8
 9 as well as the physicality of being together. Drinking games are good examples of 9
 10 the affectual kind of socialities that Maffesoli (1996) identifies with neotribalism. 10

11

12 *Domesticity*

13

14 Coastal hotels and in particular their pools are 'theatres of sociality' that rely on the 14
 15 mobilization of mundane forms of hospitality as well as an ethics of conviviality. 15
 16 The most important of these forms is the family. The mundanity of the pool and 16
 17 other spaces of mass tourism convey domesticity as well as relaxation. With 17
 18 the significant exceptions of places like Magaluf and Falaraki, Mediterranean 18
 19 mass tourism is a world of families, children and play. Pleasure is not gained 19
 20 in sightseeing but in the intimacy of the family and the exposure of the body 20
 21 to the sun, sea and sand. By the pool 'light touch forms of sociality' coexists 21
 22 with more enduring social forms that combine an ideological and an affectual 22
 23 dimension. Alongside the fluidity and insubstantiality which is paradigmatic of 23
 24 neo-tribalism, we find the enactment of workable utopias related with the family 24
 25 and the everyday. 25

26 At least in Menorca, mass tourism is conceived to a large extent for the 26
 27 enjoyment of families with children. Nowhere is this more evident than at the 27
 28 hotel pool, which is heavily inscribed with meanings of domesticity. The pool 28
 29 is quintessentially a space for children that affords multiples possibilities for 29
 30 enjoyment, experimentation and friendship. Not surprisingly, many families keep 30
 31 their children happy by spending all day by the pool. This was the case for the 31
 32 Peterson family from Essex. Although their hotel was less than 100 metres from 32
 33 the beach, they did not visit it until the fifth day of their holiday. Instead, they 33
 34 spent most of their time, up to six hours a day, by the hotel pool. The attraction of 34
 35 the pool for the children was the main justification, 'kids love the pool, they've 35
 36 never had enough of it' – Sally explained. On holiday the happiness and welfare 36
 37 of the children is a priority, 'if the children are happy and have fun, we are happy' 37
 38 – Sally concluded. In contrast to adults, children do not spent their time lying on 38
 39 a sun bed reading, but in and by the pool playing, running, jumping, diving and 39
 40 snorkelling. For children, the pool is not a passive space but an environment in 40
 41 which to have fun and make friends, sometimes despite language barriers. It is 41
 42 also the space where parents are more likely to play with their children. Adults find 42
 43 in the pool a rare license to play and be a child again. The significant presence of 43

44

45

1 children is critical in perpetuating the playful character of the pool, which binds 1
2 people together. 2

3 The pool is also a site of everyday politics and identity formation, paraphrasing 3
4 Löfgren (1999) 'a cultural laboratory'; it is a site 'in which people derive pleasure 4
5 from performing and narrating alternative identities and ways of being together' 5
6 (Haldrup and Larsen 2003: 24). The pool is a good example of the familial and 6
7 mundane dimension of tourism that according to Haldrup and Larsen's tourist 7
8 studies have struggled to account for. A longing for the simplicity and tenderness 8
9 of family life underpins coastal tourism, which is often conceived in terms of 9
10 return. By the pool, families are on their way to childhood, to a fixed version of 10
11 family life that no longer exists (Löfgren 1999: 149, Chambers, 2003: 101–7). 11
12 'Families'—Haldrup and Larsen explain—'are in constant need of performing acts 12
13 and narratives that provide sense, stability and love to their familial relations. The 13
14 more family life becomes fluid and based on choices and emotions, the greater the 14
15 task of tourist photography to produce accounts of timeless and fixed love' (2003: 15
16 26). Most of the comments that I collected evoke a return to a happy, stable and 16
17 loving family. We can see this in Linda's remarks that 'it's just really nice, we 17
18 are all sweet together here'; or when Claire congratulates her family for being all 18
19 together on holiday and 'getting closer'; or when Tim cites the summer holidays 19
20 as an opportunity to spend time with his children. Tourists not only present their 20
21 families as tales of success and love, they also act as such, playing with children 21
22 on the beach, avoiding frictions or sharing the same room in the hotel. These 22
23 narratives of the family respond to dominant mythologies of the family as the 23
24 natural basic institution, paraphrasing Hirsch, as 'a spiritual assembly based on 24
25 moral values' whose bond 'stems from instinct and passion' (1999: xv). Embedded 25
26 in the materialities of the pool we find unambiguous notions of what families are 26
27 meant to do, think and convey to others. 27

28 The pool then is a site of politics about the family and the everyday, that is, 28
29 about the *private*. However, the identities that are being formed and performed 29
30 by the hotel pool are right in the middle of a battle about 'class taste' and 'moral 30
31 correctness', that is, a battle about the *public*. Holidays are presented as a travel 31
32 inwards, to the feminized private life of the family, as a search for authenticity 32
33 amongst themselves, as a retreat from the hard realities of male dominated public 33
34 live. However, there is no privacy for the family in their search for the ideal 34
35 domestic life. Children and parents will share the same room and they will be 35
36 relaxing by the pool under the close inspection of other families's gazes. While it 36
37 responds to notions of retreat, taking the family to a coastal hotel in fact involves 37
38 the exposure of the family to the anonymous but sanitized public. 38

39 39
40 *The Gaze* 40

41 41
42 One major attraction of the pool is the possibility of looking at other tourists and 42
43 in particular their bodies. Although looking at others is in many contexts socially 43
44 unacceptable especially when it is done in an obvious manner, the pool provides a 44

1 license to observe others. Whereas on the street people tend to avoid each other's 1
2 gaze, by the pool people feel more willing to look and be looked at. The physical 2
3 organization of the pool area with all the sun beds facing the pool reinforces the 3
4 idea that people are on show. The pool affords what Anderson calls 'practical and 4
5 expressive folk ethnographies' (Bell 2007a: 16). Like the case of the café and the 5
6 market, it is a space in which it is acceptable to watch and observe. I agree with 6
7 Molotch when he contends, 'part of the intrigue of the pool is the chance to see 7
8 other people's bodies', and concludes, 'they hold more than water and expose 8
9 more than the skin' (2000: 189). The hotel pool would lose its charm if it did not 9
10 afford the possibility of looking at the strange and literally foreign bodies of tourist 10
11 from other countries. 11

12 Although deeply embedded in the culture of the pool, very few people in my 12
13 research were actually ready to accept the pleasure of the gaze. Linda from Bristol 13
14 was one of the few. She identified sitting by the pool, drinking and watching other 14
15 people as one of the main pleasures of the holidays. She would 'Just sit, sit and 15
16 drink and watch people. Just watch. I'm quite happy to stand here, there is so much 16
17 going on!' She pictured the hotel as an exciting place full of strangers to look at 17
18 and gossip about. 'I like watching people' – she recognizes – 'especially in this 18
19 hotel. There are so many different nationalities. At breakfast time, for example, 19
20 you can see from what they are eating what country they are from'. José Lucas, a 20
21 holidaymaker in his 30s from Valladolid also explicitly recognized the attraction 21
22 of the gaze. He was not ashamed to identify 'watching people', which he describes 22
23 as 'the Spanish national sport', as one of the main pleasures of being on holiday 23
24 'I would sit now in the reception to see everybody passing through', he admitted. 24
25 He misses a good marina like the one in Benidorm to stroll around in the evenings 25
26 and watch other people passing through. 26

27 The relevance of the gaze together with the significance of gossiping 27
28 complicates the social life of the pool. As well as the mobilization of mundane 28
29 forms of hospitality, the pool is a place for the enactment of social divisions, 29
30 national rivalries and cultural differences. The gaze forms the basis of these 30
31 processes of differentiation. Observable variations in style, behaviour and 31
32 manners often serve to reinforce the barriers that differentiate the community of 32
33 hotel dwellers along national lines. In the next section I explore in more detail the 33
34 significance of national clichés through the example of sun beds. In the coastal 34
35 hotel, national clichés are critical in both dealing with the other and neutralizing 35
36 the uncomfortable questioning that the coexistence with foreign people brings 36
37 about. Different processes of reterritorialization continuously reconfigure the open 37
38 and volatile character of the pool. 38

39

40 *Hostility*

41

42 To be a perfect host is one of the main aspirations of any hotel. According to 42
43 Bell 'to be a perfect host is to offer hospitality unconditionally, unreservedly, 43
44 unendingly' (2007a: 9). While an ideal of pure hospitality may be the driving 44

45

1 principle of the hotel, Derrida reminds us that the enactment of hospitality is 1
 2 never unreservedly free. There are conditions through which hospitality is given 2
 3 and received. The principle of welcoming the unknown anonymous other – the 3
 4 stranger and the foreigner – is constantly corrupted with traces of hostility. This 4
 5 paradox is not exclusive to the hospitality industry. At the heart of Derrida's 5
 6 philosophy of hospitality there is a similar paradox between an ideal hospitality 6
 7 which is by definition unconditional and the enactment of hospitality which is 7
 8 always conditional (Deutscher 2005: 67). This conditionality of enacted hospitality 8
 9 is evident in the hotel's latent elements of hostility. The most obvious element is 9
 10 price. To be accepted as a guest in a hotel you need to pay an established rate. It is 10
 11 not a gift but a purchase. Moreover, in the coastal hotel there are plenty of rules of 11
 12 etiquette and reciprocity that determine who is welcome and on what terms. These 12
 13 include dress code, noise rules and the subtle monitoring of everyday behaviour 13
 14 through the entertainment program. The deployment of hostility towards deviant 14
 15 behavior is necessary to make sure that the coastal hotel is habitable for the 'right' 15
 16 kind of people, normally white middle class families. 16

17 One of the most characteristic settings for hostility are disputes over sun 17
 18 beds. It is very common, in particular among British tourists, to complain about 18
 19 empty sun beds which are permanently reserved. The sun bed story is very much 19
 20 a territorial conflict between British and German tourists for the physical and 20
 21 symbolic possession of the central space of the hotel. The basic idea is that the 21
 22 Germans put their towels on the sun beds very early in the morning although 22
 23 they are not used until later in the day. Take for example the comments made 23
 24 by Craig, from London. 'You say, I'm going to get a sun bed now, but they [the 24
 25 Germans] have arrived at five o'clock in the morning and put the towels on the 25
 26 tops'. The situation was not exclusive to this particular hotel. 'Everywhere you go 26
 27 on holiday' – he remarked – 'you can come at eight o'clock and all the sun beds 27
 28 are taken (...) but people don't like to lie on the sun beds until quarter to twelve'. 28
 29 Craig didn't blame only the Germans, he also reproached the hotel management 29
 30 for being inefficient and inattentive. 'What I've found odd' – he concluded – 'is 30
 31 that they create a remarkable bureaucracy for food and drink with tickets and so on 31
 32 but they haven't got anything for the sun beds. Nothing happens at all with the sun 32
 33 beds'. So this is not simply a conflict about the use of scarce resources; it is also a 33
 34 backdrop for the reenactment of nationalist clichés and prejudices about Germans 34
 35 and Spanish. Craig wryly uses the story of sun beds to illustrate how possessive 35
 36 the Germans are, how inefficient the Spanish are and how unfair the world is for 36
 37 the English. In the coastal hotel, the mobilization of mundane forms of hospitality 37
 38 coexists with processes of reterritorialization that reenact national rivalries, social 38
 39 divisions and cultural difference. 39

40 40
 41 *Boredom* 41
 42 42
 43 An ideal of relaxation is at the heart of the informal and mundane atmosphere 43
 44 cultivated around the pool. For most tourists, enjoying the pool is the closest thing 44



Figure 5.3 Doing 'nothing' by the pool

to the highly desired state of relaxation they are looking for. The mundanity of the pool has to be understood here as a negative quality that presupposes escape, relaxation and inversion. The pool is a relaxing environment that allows tourists 'to get away from the hustle and bustle', 'to switch off', 'to cut off', 'to slow down', 'to forget worries', 'to suspend the daily routine' and so on. However, the identification of the pool with relaxation is double edged. The fact that the pool is conceived as the perfect place to do nothing means it is also the most likely place to find boredom. What, at the beginning is rest and relaxation after four or five days becomes boredom and tedium. In the following passage, Linda describes very well the interdependence of relaxation and boredom. After six days the prospect of relaxing by the pool is no longer attractive. 'Well it's nice to sit but yes' – she admitted – 'now we are thinking oh another day by the pool! It's very nice but you can only drink so much, you can only eat so much. We've been around the same spas so many times. It's very nice but it's a little bit repetitive'. The way to combat boredom is to do something, which frequently involves hiring a car and travelling around. 'It was around Saturday when we decided to do something different. So really it's about a week ago when we thought we need to get away and hire a car. You need to do something else, if not it gets a bit tedious'. Tourists' comments paint a picture of the holiday as a succession of periods of excitement and boredom.

By the pool there is a thin line between relaxation and boredom. What initially is experienced as relaxation and rest soon becomes tedium and monotony. This is

1 the case because there is no consistent utopia associated with the hotel pool, just 1
 2 a vague promise of luxury and hedonism. Such promises are ultimately nothing 2
 3 more than a temporal suspension of everyday rules and routines. The fact that the 3
 4 pool is quite empty of meta-narratives is nevertheless what makes the pool the 4
 5 perfect setting to find oneself. Hollowed out of utopias, obligations and constraints 5
 6 the pool offers the opportunity of inhabiting the mundane, making space for the 6
 7 cultivation of feeling, attitudes and ways of relating with others. The mundanity of 7
 8 the pool emerges here as a more positive quality relating to economies of affect. 8
 9 This means that boredom is not necessarily a sign of inauthenticity, it is also a 9
 10 sign of life. ‘But what if one refuses to allow oneself to be chased away?’ Asks 10
 11 Kracauer – ‘then boredom becomes the only proper occupation, since it provides 11
 12 a kind of guarantee that one is, so to speak, still in control of one’s own existence. 12
 13 If one were never bored, one would presumably not really be present at all and 13
 14 would thus be merely one more object of boredom’ (1995: 334). However the 14
 15 hotel – and here lays the paradox – does not like boredom, it is incompatible with 15
 16 the implications of people controlling their own existence. The hotel management 16
 17 makes sure that there is always an evening show, an organized excursion or 17
 18 a drinking game to draw the attention of the tourists and enliven the pool. As 18
 19 Kracauer reminds us, ‘although one wants to do nothing, things are done to one: 19
 20 the world makes sure that one does not find oneself. And even if one perhaps isn’t 20
 21 interested in it, the world itself is much too interested for one to find the peace and 21
 22 quiet necessary to be as thoroughly bored with the world as it ultimately deserves’ 22
 23 (1995: 332). The hotel pool is simultaneously a palace of distraction and a site of 23
 24 boredom, a place to find the self and lose it again. 24

25 25
 26 26
 27 **Conclusion** 27
 28 28

29 This chapter has examined the coastal hotel, one of the basic institutions of 29
 30 Mediterranean mass tourism. Rather than focusing on its structural logic, I have 30
 31 been concerned with the day to day uses of this space. My intention has been to 31
 32 produce a livelier account of the coastal hotel that sheds light on the everyday 32
 33 relations and practices through which this space is inhabited by tourists. In order 33
 34 to do so, I have moved away from ideas of commodification and alienation that 34
 35 emphasize the inhabitability of contemporary generic landscapes, considering 35
 36 instead the coastal hotel in terms of hospitality and affect. Derridan notions of 36
 37 hospitality (Derrida 2000) together with Maffesoli’s ideas on affectual socialites 37
 38 (1996) open up mass tourism to new ways of analysis that are less hostile to this 38
 39 tourist phenomenon. The main appeal is the possibility of thinking the social 39
 40 life of the coastal hotel without recurring to notions of organic community. An 40
 41 ethnographic account of the pool – the main communal area of the coastal hotel – has 41
 42 illustrated the discussion. The pool has been presented as a space of conviviality, 42
 43 hedonism and relaxation the success of which depends upon the mobilization of 43
 44 mundane forms of hospitality and an ethics of conviviality. It is the main stage 44

1 for the enactment of the warmly and welcoming atmosphere that identifies mass 1
 2 Mediterranean tourism. The social life of the pool – which consist mainly of 2
 3 fleeting mundane experiences orientated to the pursue of fun –have been revealed 3
 4 as more complex than expected. By the pool ‘light touch forms of sociality’ that 4
 5 emphasize informality and conviviality coexist with more enduring social forms 5
 6 that combine an ideological and an affectual dimension. By bringing together 6
 7 philosophies of hospitalities and hospitality studies, this chapter has brought to the 7
 8 fore a political dimension of mass tourism. Ultimately I have tried to demonstrate 8
 9 that the coastal hotel is an important site of politics, mainly related with the family 9
 10 and the everyday. The hotel is, paraphrasing Löfgren (1999), a cultural laboratory 10
 11 in which tourists are able to cultivate workable utopias, structures of feeling and 11
 12 new ways of living and relating with others. 12

13

14

15 References 15

16

- 17 Allen, J. 2000. On George Simmel: proximity, distance and movement in *Thinking* 17
 18 *Space*, edited by M. Crang and N. Thrift. London: Routledge, 54–70. 18
 19 Andrews, H. 2006. Consuming pleasures: package tourists in Mallorca in *Tourism,* 19
 20 *Consumption and Representation: Narratives of Self and Place*, edited by K. 20
 21 Meetham, A. Andrews and S. Miles. Wallingford: CABI, 217–235. 21
 22 Andrews, H. 2000. Consuming hospitality on holiday, in *Search of Hospitality:* 22
 23 *Theoretical Perspectives and Debates*, edited by C. Lashley and A. Morrison. 23
 24 Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 235–54, 24
 25 Augé, M. 1995. *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity.* 25
 26 London: Verso. 26
 27 Augé, M. 2000. Petrol stations, in *City A-Z*, edited by S. Pile and N. Thrift. London: 27
 28 Routledge, 177–9. 28
 29 Bell, D. 2007a. The hospitable city: social relations in commercial spaces. *Progress* 29
 30 *in Human Geography*, 31(1), 7–22. 30
 31 Bell, D. 2007b. Moments of hospitality, in *Mobilizing Hospitality: The Ethics* 31
 32 *of Social Relations in a Mobile World*, edited by J.G. Molz and S. Gibson. 32
 33 Aldershot: Ashgate, 29–44. 33
 34 Binnie, J., Holloway, J., Millington, S., and Young, C. 2007. Mundane geographies: 34
 35 alienation, potentialities, and practice. *Environment and Planning A*, 39(3), 35
 36 515–20 36
 37 Buchanan, I. and Lambert, G. 2005. *Deleuze and Space*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh 37
 38 University Press. 38
 39 Buhalis, D. 2000. Relationships in the distribution channel of tourism: conflicts 39
 40 between hoteliers and tour operators in the Mediterranean Region. *International* 40
 41 *Hospitality, Leisure and Tourism Administration Journal*, 1(1), 113–39. 41
 42 Caputo, J.D. 1997. *Deconstruction in a Nutshell: A Conversation with Jacques* 42
 43 *Derrida*. New York: Fordham University Press. 43
 44 44

45

- 1 Chambers, D. 2003. Family as place: family photograph albums and the
2 domestication of public and private space, in *Picturing Place: Photography*
3 *and the Geographical Imagination*, edited by J. Schwartz and J. Ryan. London:
4 Tauris, 96–114.
- 5 Crang, M. 2002. Between places: producing hubs, flows, an networks. *Environment*
6 *and Planning A*, 34, 569–74
- 7 Derrida, J. 2000. *Of Hospitality*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- 8 Deutscher, P. 2005. *How to Read Derrida*. London: Granta Book
- 9 Goss, J. 1993. The ‘magic of the mall’: an analysis of form, function, and meaning
10 in the contemporary retail built environment. *Annals of the Association of*
11 *American Geographers*, 83(1), 18–47.
- 12 Gottdiener, M. 2001. *Life in the Air: Surviving the New Culture of Air Travel*.
13 Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.
- 14 Haldrup, M. and Larsen, J. 2003. The family gaze. *Tourist Studies*, 3(1), 23–45.
- 15 Harrison, P. 2002. The caesura: remarks on Wittgenstein’s interruption of theory,
16 or why practices elude explanation. *Geoforum*, 33(4), 487–503.
- 17 Hetherington, K. 1998. *Expressions of Identity: Space, Performance, Politics*.
18 London: Sage.
- 19 Hirsch, M. 1999. *The Familial Gaze*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New
20 England.
- 21 Hutchinson, S. 2000. Waiting for the bus. *Social Text*, 18(2), 107–120.
- 22 Ioannides, D. and Debbage, K. 1998. *The Economic Geography of the Tourist*
23 *Industry*. London: Routledge.
- 24 Katz, M. 1999. The hotel Kracauer. *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural*
25 *Studies*, 11(2), 134–52.
- 26 Kracauer, S. 1995. *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard
27 University Press.
- 28 Latham, A. 2003. Urbanity, lifestyle and making sense of the new urban cultural
29 economy: notes from Auckland, New Zealand. *Urban Studies*, 40(9), 1699–
30 724.
- 31 Latham, A. and McCormack, D. 2004. Moving cities: rethinking the materialities
32 of urban geographies. *Progress in Human Geography*, 28(6), 701–24
- 33 Laurier, E. and Philo, C. 2004. Cafés and crowds, the problems of cosmopolitanism.
34 [Online] Available at: <http://web.geog.gla.ac.uk/olpapers/elaurier004.pdf>
35 [accessed: 4 May 2007]
- 36 Löfgren, O. 1999. *On Holiday: a History of Vacationing*. Berkley, CA: University
37 of California Press.
- 38 Maffesoli, M. 1996. *The Time of the Tribes: The Decline of Individualism in Mass*
39 *Society*. London: Sage.
- 40 Molotch, H. 2000. Pools (swimming), in *City A-Z*, edited by S. Pile and N. Thrift.
41 London: Routledge, 189–91.
- 42 Molz, J.G. and Gibson, S. 2007. *Mobilizing Hospitality: The Ethics of Social*
43 *Relations in a Mobile World*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- 44

- 1 Müllder-Bach, I. 1997. Cinematic Ethnology: Siegfried Kracauer's "The White 1
- 2 Collar Masses". *New Left Review*, 226, 41–56. 2
- 3 Reeh, H. 1998. Fragmentation, improvization, and urban quality: a heterotopian 3
- 4 motif in Siegfried Kracauer, in *Intervals in the Philosophy of Architecture*, 4
- 5 edited by A. Pérez-Gómez, and S. Parcell. London: McGill – Queen's 5
- 6 University Press, 157 –77. 6
- 7 Simmel, G. 1971. The stranger, in. *George Simmel on Individuality and Social 7*
- 8 *Forms*, edited by D. Levine. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 143–49. 8
- 9 Simmel, G. 1997. The metropolis and the mental life, in: *Simmel on Culture*, edited 9
- 10 by D. Frisby and M. Featherstone. London: Sage, 174 –85. 10
- 11 Sinclair, M.T. 1997. *Gender, Work and Tourism*. London: Routledge. 11
- 12 Tallack, D. 2002. 'Waiting, waiting': the hotel lobby, in the modern city, in *The 12*
- 13 *Hieroglyphics of Space: Reading and Experiencing Modern Metropolis*, edited 13
- 14 by N. Leach. London: Routledge, 139 – 151. 14
- 15 Thrift, N. 2004. Summoning life, in *Envisioning Human Geography*, edited by P. 15
- 16 Cloke, P. Crang, and M. Goodwin. London: Arnold, 81–103. 16
- 17 Thrift, N. 2005. But malice aforethought: cities and the natural history of hatred. 17
- 18 *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 30(2),133–50. 18
- 19 Urbain, J.D. 2003. *At the Beach*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 19
- 20 20
- 21 21
- 22 22
- 23 23
- 24 24
- 25 25
- 26 26
- 27 27
- 28 28
- 29 29
- 30 30
- 31 31
- 32 32
- 33 33
- 34 34
- 35 35
- 36 36
- 37 37
- 38 38
- 39 39
- 40 40
- 41 41
- 42 42
- 43 43
- 44 44
- 45 45

Proof Copy

1	Chapter 6	1
2		2
3	‘De Veraneo en la Playa’: Belonging and the	3
4	Familiar in Mediterranean Mass Tourism	4
5		5
6		6
7	Javier Caletrío	7
8		8
9		9
10		10
11		11
12	Introduction	12
13		13
14	Jacobo has been awake for some time but his eyes are closed. Light streams	14
15	through the shutters into the stillness of his room, a stillness only broken by the	15
16	occasional, intuitive movement of his leg reaching for the cool part of the bed.	16
17	These are the sublime pleasures of summer. Lingerin in bed, he slowly awakens	17
18	to the familiar world around him: the smooth coolness of the untouched corners	18
19	of the bed as the morning warms up, the redolent smell of old wood furniture,	19
20	the sparrows in the garden and downstairs the voices of his grandparents talking	20
21	over the first morning coffee. It is the first day of his holidays. He delays joining	21
22	his grandparents to picture the summer stretched out before him, a summer of	22
23	endless conversations on the beach, the promenade, the café, the garden. No	23
24	more lessons or timetables, no more clocks or early nights. A summer to do	24
25	nothing. Memories of summers past draw his lips into a faint smile. Finally he is	25
26	on holiday, finally he is at home.	26
27		27
28	Jacobo will have breakfast with his family in the villa garden, help his parents	28
29	with shopping in the local market and go to the beach at midday. But as he walks	29
30	onto the beach his figure will not dilute into an impersonal mass of bronzed	30
31	bodies that has become a paradigmatic image of Spanish Mediterranean beaches.	31
32	Instead, Jacobo’s walk along the shore will be a re-encounter with lifelong friends	32
33	and acquaintances. His passage along the beach signals alternative historical-	33
34	geographical itineraries in the evolution of mass tourism that do not fit well with	34
35	established images of Mediterranean coastal resorts associated with two weeks	35
36	package tours powerfully projected beyond popular discourse into the academic	36
37	realm.	37
38	Jacobo is not a tourist, at least not in the academic sense of a person who leaves	38
39	the familiar environments of everyday life in search of novelty or the exotic.	39
40	Neither is he a <i>mass</i> tourist in the more everyday and dismissive sense of a passive	40
41	member of a docile collective lured by the infamous trilogy of sand, sea and	41
42	sun. Yet if people like Jacobo were to abandon mainland Spanish Mediterranean	42
43	beaches, many would appear deserted and the image traditionally associated with	43
44	mass tourism would fade away for these places are the domain not so much of	44

1 package tourists as *veraneantes*, a Spanish expression that translates as ‘those who 1
2 regularly spend the summer here’. 2

3 *Veraneantes*’s focus on reencountering lifelong acquaintances and reproducing 3
4 social networks problematizes a straightforward association of tourism with 4
5 sightseeing and the consumption of place. Their largely domestic and often local 5
6 origins, their ambivalent status as simultaneously hosts and guests, and their 6
7 influence in setting the social tone in many resorts destabilize long held views of 7
8 mass tourism in the Mediterranean as an invasive, corrupting force in what are 8
9 portrayed as untouched, homogeneous and powerless local cultures. Looking at 9
10 *veraneantes* helps to illustrate the complexity of Mediterranean leisure landscapes 10
11 emerging from diverse, interrelated patterns of mooring and mobility, or dwelling- 11
12 in-travelling (Clifford 1989, Urry 2000, Obrador 2003). 12

13 In the context of this collective volume this chapter aims at highlighting the 13
14 significance and paradoxical effects of the familiar in the creation of Mediterranean 14
15 landscapes. It should be noted, however, that while *veraneo* is a form of 15
16 holidaymaking where certain forms of the familiar are expressed vividly, there is 16
17 no intention to characterize *veraneo* in opposition to other travel styles where the 17
18 familiar is present in a different, less evident or subtler guise. 18

19 There is no intention either to elaborate a new typology of tourist. Rather, my 19
20 aim is to highlight a number of practices and discourses that produce particular 20
21 places, affects and senses of belonging shared by diverse social groups, classes 21
22 and nationalities. In so doing this chapter shows how *veraneo* gains expression 22
23 through a number of local, national and transnational realities such as rural exodus, 23
24 international migrations and colonial legacies. In this sense *veraneo* is a reminder 24
25 of the need to look at tourism as a culturally and socially embedded phenomena 25
26 whose uncertain boundaries are always on the move. *Veraneo* forcefully brings 26
27 to the fore Adler’s (1989) claim that the history of European tourism should be 27
28 broadly seen as a history of myriad stylized configurations of sometimes new, 28
29 sometimes old, social and cultural conventions, modes of travel, collective dreams 29
30 and imaginaries, medical and scientific knowledge, hospitality and political 30
31 institutions. 31

32 The data presented in this paper was gained in seven focus groups involving 32
33 41 participants and 30 in-depth interviews with *veraneantes* in four seaside resorts 33
34 of the Costa Blanca, Spain, during the summers of 2000 and 2001. Interviewees 34
35 ranged from social grades A (Status: upper middle class; Occupation: higher 35
36 managerial, administrative or professional) to C2 (Status: skilled working class; 36
37 Occupation: skilled manual workers) with most of the interviewees in Benidorm 37
38 included in grades B (Status: middle class; Occupation: intermediate managerial, 38
39 administrative or professional) and C1 (Status: lower middle class; Occupation: 39
40 supervisory or clerical, junior managerial, administrative or professional) and 40
41 interviewees in Altea, Calpe and Moraira in grades A and B. 41

42 The chapter is structured as follows. Firstly, I highlight the quantitative 42
43 significance of the phenomenon of *veraneo* in Spain. Secondly, I briefly discuss 43
44 how the familiar figures in social theories of travel and tourism. Thirdly, drawing 44

on qualitative data from the Costa Blanca, I examine the role of *veraneo* in the encounter of Mediterranean tourism landscapes. There is a conclusion that includes suggestions for further research.

The Significance of *Veraneo*

Although information on the quantitative significance on *veraneantes* is scarce, data on second residences can provide a more reliable if indirect indication of the massive scale of the phenomenon. Of a total of 11 million households in Spain, 21 percent have access to a second residence, owned or leased by relatives and friends (IET 2000). During 2000, Spanish residents made a total of 123 million overnight trips equalling a total of 562 million nights. 62 percent of these overnight journeys were short trips of less than four nights to a second residence.

International demand of this type of accommodation is also notable. In Majorca the percentage of visitors using a second residence over the total arriving at the island is 67 percent for Germans, 27 percent for British, 66.5 percent for French, and 44 percent for Spaniards (CAIB, 1997; Duhamel, 2000). An indication of the degree of familiarity with the place visited is given by the rates of ownership. More

Table 6.1 Rate of ownership of second residence and number of beds in relation with hotel beds*

Resort	Number of second residences	Beds in second residences	Hotel beds	Ownership second residences
Oropesa	7,600	30,360	1,849	75%
Cullera	14,264	57,058	1,026	64.9%
Benidorm	38,333	153,332	33,652	27%

Note: *In showing a relatively high rate of ownership and an overwhelming predominance of accommodation in second residences, the resorts of Cullera and Oropesa are representative of most seaside resorts in the region of Valencia. When taking the rate of ownership as an indication of the degree of familiarity with the resort it should be noted that those renting an apartment or a villa frequently are habitual visitors too, though usually with less financial possibilities to acquire a second home. Benidorm represents the exception to the largely residential model of tourism development predominant in the Valencia region. Its 33,652 hotel beds in 125 hotels represent just over forty percent of the total hotel capacity. Though lesser than in the other two resorts included in the sample, the rate of ownership of second residences is still significant. Users of rented apartments include habitual visitors (families frequently book the same apartment year after year) and package holidaymakers (mainly British) making use of self-catering accommodation.

Source: Agencia Valenciana del Turisme, 1999.

1 than 70 percent of north Europeans making use of this type of accommodation 1
 2 in Spain were using their own or a friend's or relative's while the remaining 30 2
 3 percent were renting it (IET 2000). The Institute of Foreign Property Owners 3
 4 and associations of building promoters estimate that in 1998 the total number of 4
 5 Europeans with a property in Spain was 1,100,000. That figure increased to 1.5 5
 6 million by 2001 and was estimated to reach 1,750,000 by 2003 (FIPE 2002). 6

7 The phenomenon of second residences in the region of Valencia where field 7
 8 work for the research presented here was undertaken is particularly prominent. 8
 9 According to reliable data for 1992 provided by the Secretaría General de 9
 10 Turismo, in the region of Valencia there were 78,210 hotel beds and 2,219,000 10
 11 non-hotel beds (self-catering, second homes and unregistered supply) (Monfort 11
 12 and Ivars 2001: 28). These figures include both inland and coastal areas. Another 12
 13 study gives a maximum figure of 1,493,705 beds for tourist use along the main 13
 14 coastal resorts, 92 percent of which correspond to non-hotel accommodation (for 14
 15 example villas, apartments and terraced houses) (Fundación Cavanilles 1994). In 15
 16 Valencian seaside resorts most second residences are owned rather than rented 16
 17 with the exception of Benidorm (AVT 2000b). Reliable comprehensive data on 17
 18 rates of ownership is lacking though the partial research available for two highly 18
 19 representative resorts is 75 percent and 64.9 percent (AVT 1999). 19

20 This predominance of *veraneantes* in many resorts remains largely 20
 21 unacknowledged by scholars writing on tourism in the Mediterranean. For 21
 22 example, despite his perceptive chapter on summer vacations and second homes 22
 23 – what he calls ‘cottage cultures’ – in Scandinavia, Löfgren’s (1999) fails to 23
 24 acknowledge its popularity in southern Europe and goes on to characterize the 24
 25 contemporary Mediterranean as a region that lives to the rhythm of the two-week 25
 26 package tour. Yet the practice of *veraneo* confers coastal landscapes in the Spanish 26
 27 Mediterranean with a different rhythm. Or to be faithful to the Braudelian analogy 27
 28 used by Löfgren, Mediterranean life palpates not with one but a myriad rhythms, 28
 29 some of which stem from, revolve around or become entangled with the practice 29
 30 of *veraneo*. 30

31 31
 32 32

33 **The Lure of the Familiar and Tourism Studies** 33

34 34

35 The rhythms of *veraneo* take shape and meaning in relation to other places and forms 35
 36 of leisure and work. ‘Altea’, a *veraneante* tells me, ‘is not a place to do tourism, 36
 37 or seeing things, it is a place to stay, to rest, to meet people’. In its blunt simplicity 37
 38 the statement hints at a relational sense of place and the three key discourses that 38
 39 structure *veraneo* as a travel style: relaxation (‘being lazy’), socializing (‘we’re a 39
 40 family’), and attachment to place (‘this is home’). A standard day of a *veraneante* 40
 41 passes by socializing with relatives and friends in a relaxed way (on ‘laid-back 41
 42 mobilities’, see Haldrup 2005). And that life involves spatially restricted patterns 42
 43 of mobility that gravitate around the beach and the promenade, the scenario of a 43
 44 range of usually quite mundane practices such as walking, eating and drinking in 44

1 bars and cafeterias or sun bathing and swimming in the sea, repeated with surgical 1
2 precision day after day from the beginning until the end of her holidays: 2
3 3
4 The house is somehow superfluous to us. You go to the beach in the morning, 4
5 meet your friends, then you may have a beer together and swim for a while and 5
6 then have a salad, and then sometimes the conversation with friends is good 6
7 and you decide to eat some sardines here in the bar instead of eating at home 7
8 [the villa]. So you may stay the whole day here. And then at night you may ask 8
9 Angel, the owner of the bar, to cook a paella for us all and afterwards you may 9
10 have a dip in the sea and you may return home at one or two in the morning. 10
11 That's how my summer goes by. (Jesús, 45, from Valencia, Spain, bank manager, 11
12 regular visitor to Moraira). 12
13 13
14 As the quotes illustrate, daily life is punctuated by highly valued quotidian 14
15 rituals such as the three main daily meals, siesta, having a drink in the evening 15
16 in the promenade and engaging in conversations until late at night with friends 16
17 and relatives, all of which convey a sense of the familiar. It is precisely those 17
18 apparently banal and highly predictable rhythms and patterns of daily activity in 18
19 the company of significant others what give special meaning and value to their 19
20 holidays and place of vacations. 20
21 In trying to make sense of this predictability and familiarity through social 21
22 theories of tourism one is led either to discard *veraneo* as a form of tourism or 22
23 dismiss it as a failure to accomplish its emancipatory potential. Issues of familiarity 23
24 have indeed been largely overlooked in tourism literature. In assuming a home 24
25 and away dichotomy whereby home is associated with the familiar and away 25
26 with novelty and the exotic, the familiar has tended to be understood as what the 26
27 tourist leaves behind. In one of his earlier writings on the topic, Urry (1990: 2–3) 27
28 contends that tourism involves movement of people to 'new place or places', that 28
29 tourist sites are 'out of the ordinary' and that there is 'a clear intention to return 29
30 'home'. When the familiar appears in the tourist experience travel literature tends 30
31 to see it as the result of the increasing standardization of everyday life. Accounts 31
32 of tourism as a quest of authenticity associate the familiar with commodification 32
33 and a loss of authenticity (MacCannell 1973). This line of argument is furthered 33
34 by Ritzer in his McDonalization thesis whereby the increasing commodification of 34
35 tourist destinations results in or is expressed through highly standardized, familiar, 35
36 predictable and controlled tourist products, services and experiences (Ritzer 1996). 36
37 Turning the focus on the tourist, authors such as Bruner (1991) or Rojek (1994) 37
38 raise doubts about the potential of tourism for self-development or as a 'way of 38
39 escape' for tourists inexorably carry with them a cultural 'baggage' as members of 39
40 a specific class, gender, race, or nation. 40
41 An attentive reading of histories of travel and tourism suggests, however, 41
42 multiple and complex entanglements between home and away (see Pemble 1987). 42
43 This entanglements and the ontological work that cultural baggage does on places 43
44 is increasingly being acknowledged through the performative turn in tourism 44
45

1 studies (Edensor 1997, Crang and Coleman 2002, Bærenholt, Haldrup, Larsen, 1
 2 Urry 2005). In an attempt to rethink the place of travel in modernity, Minca and 2
 3 Oakes argue that 'the study of travel must also raise questions about the meaning 3
 4 of home, about belonging, about how places get made and remade' (2006: 1). They 4
 5 see place as integral to travel and travel as integral to place and home-making 5
 6 practices: 'place-making is fundamentally infused with travel and all the baggage 6
 7 that gets shipped along the way – difference, strangeness, alienation, nostalgia, 7
 8 homesickness, inspiration, fear, frustration, hopes, and expectations fulfilled and 8
 9 dashed' (2006: 1). In a similar vein, feminist and postcolonial critics call for an 9
 10 alternative 'framework for rethinking home and migration in ways that open out 10
 11 discussion beyond oppositions such as stasis versus transformation, or presence 11
 12 versus absence' (Ahmed et al. 2003: 1). Elaborating this argument in relation with 12
 13 tourism, Crang notes that 'the tourist seeks to travel to be present at a place, but as 13
 14 we examine those places we find they are shot through by absences where distant 14
 15 others, removed in space and time, haunt the sites' (2006: 49). Such attentiveness 15
 16 to the complex and contingent relation between home and away also shows how 16
 17 for many people travel is also about *getting home* when the aim of the journey is 17
 18 visiting family and friends scattered across different places (Larsen et al. 2007, 18
 19 Urry 2000). It is this path of disrupted categories and dualisms that I will follow to 19
 20 examine the familiar in the context of *veraneo*. 20
 21 21
 22 22

23 **Performing the familiar: *habitus* and the beach** 23

24 24
 25 The practice of *veraneo* is paradigmatic of forms of travel styles where destination 25
 26 is home and meeting significant others is crucial. So entangled people and place 26
 27 appear in *veraneantes* accounts in the Costa Blanca that one term often stands for 27
 28 the other: 28
 29 29

30 Bea: Here the beach is very good, and calm and tranquil and the nightlife 30
 31 on the other side of the beach is not bad too. We like Benidorm a lot. [...] 31
 32 Andrea: You know what happens? What happens is that we also have a very 32
 33 strong affective attachment to Benidorm. 33
 34 Pierre: No, *also* is not the right word. The word is *above all*. 34
 35 Bea: Yes, you are right. 35
 36 Alfredo: It is a whole set of things. There are people that you really appreciate 36
 37 and whom you've known for a long time. These are people that you can only see 37
 38 once a year and you can only see them here. And beside this the tranquillity 38
 39 But yes, the feelings towards the place are very important. You have to bear in 39
 40 mind that we have been coming here for many years. [...] Of course we like the 40
 41 beach but when you ask for the reasons why we come here, we like the beach, 41
 42 the sun, everything, but for us, well at least for me, it is my people. 42
 43 Bea: What we come for is this beach, this sun, this breeze...with these 43
 44 people. 44

1	Pierre: We cannot conceive any of those things separated from the rest.	1
2	Alfredo: When Andrea says "I need Benidorm", she's not referring to Benidorm	2
3	itself or just this beach in particular. She means that she needs to come to	3
4	Benidorm, to this place, this beach, and see this person and the other person.	4
5	(Young professionals from Madrid, Navarra, Spain, and Paris, France, regular	5
6	summer visitors to Benidorm, Playa de Poniente).	6
7		7
8	These young professionals show a reluctance to prioritize place over people	8
9	and present both as inextricably entangled. This kind of narrative was often	9
10	accompanied by the clarification that seeing their friends in their place of residence	10
11	in the winter months 'felt different' and lacked the excitement it had in the	11
12	summer. The communion of place and people underpins home-making practices	12
13	and veraneantes's sense of place in the Costa Blanca. But such relationship is	13
14	contingent. The obvious but important point is that, inevitably, people change	14
15	and places change too. This is something that Löfgren (1999) fails to sufficiently	15
16	acknowledge in his otherwise excellent description of 'cottage cultures' in	16
17	Scandinavia and the USA. Since a veraneante's engagement with a resort is a long	17
18	term, often a lifelong, affair, negotiating that relationship through one's biography	18
19	and through generations in a family is an essential part of the experience of veraneo.	19
20	The rest of the chapter offers a necessarily brief introduction to the dynamics of	20
21	this relationship in the Costa Blanca. An entry point to examine this issue is the	21
22	way the beach is encountered as a familiar place. The beach is the public space	22
23	par excellence in seaside resorts and the place where that 'affective attachment'	23
24	Andrea refers to is expressed most vividly. ¹ In my research the beach is also the	24
25	place where most interviews with veraneantes took place.	25
26	The beach is a familiar place in the double sense of a well known place and a	26
27	family place, a place where <i>veraneantes</i> socialize with their families and where	27
28	families interact with other families. The idea of the beach as a familiar place is	28
29	continually recreated through the practices that <i>veraneantes</i> perform during their	29
30	holidays and they usually go about their daily lives without consciously thinking	30
31	about it, it is experienced as a routine. Yet such a specific way of encountering	31
32	the beach has to be learned (Lencék and Bosker 1998, Löfgren 1994). It implies	32
33	acquiring competence in a number of activities and ways of seeing, smelling,	33
34	touching, listening and moving around deemed to be appropriate, <i>natural</i> , on	34
35	that beach: visiting the beach every morning at around the same time, walking	35
36	along the shore in a certain manner, placing the beach towel and the parasol in	36
37	the same place every day, looking at people and the sea in specific ways, talking	37
38	with friends and relatives, reencountering them every year or every few weeks,	38
39		39
40		40
41	1 While spaces with restricted access such as elite tennis and golf clubs and marinas	41
42	are an emergent trend, the beach and the promenade are still the places for socialising for the	42
43	majority of veraneantes, especially in resorts where apartments are the main accommodation	43
44	type such as Benidorm, Cullera, Gandia, and Oropesa. The beach is the public place where	44
	they spend most of their time and often one of the few open public spaces.	45

1 sharing memories – last night’s party or childhood anecdotes – making children 1
 2 and youngsters participate in such story-telling, swimming to particular places, 2
 3 collecting specific plants or animals, etc. Through ongoing engagement with that 3
 4 set of practices, *veraneantes* acquire a disposition to act, sense and feel the beach 4
 5 in a specific way. 5

6 Such disposition to live the beach as familiar is something they acquire as 6
 7 a *habitus* and is expressed as an easiness at performing tasks and relating with 7
 8 place and people. In the Costa Blanca affinity in the economic and cultural capital 8
 9 displayed by tourists and retirement migrants is important in determining social 9
 10 relationships and in this sense *habitus* needs to be understood in Bourdieu’s 10
 11 (1984) terms as the practical and affective dispositions shared by a social class 11
 12 and acquired in the fight for resources in a field. The Costa Blanca is punctuated 12
 13 by a series of seaside resorts displaying their own specific social ambience and 13
 14 characterized by struggles over distinction. When talking about their place of 14
 15 holidays, *veraneantes* invoke a relational frame of awareness about other resorts, 15
 16 often outside Spain: ‘What we want is tranquillity to feel the time passing by. 16
 17 That’s something you can feel in Altea but not in the Cote d’Azur, the Cote 17
 18 d’Azur is like Paris.’ Resorts are classified in scales of taste and naturalness where 18
 19 Benidorm invariably ranks in the lowest position: ‘Altea is not like Benidorm, this 19
 20 is a family place, more natural’ or ‘obviously Altea is different from Benidorm’. 20
 21 Benidorm figures as the ‘chaotic’, ‘massified’, ‘tacky’ place where ‘you can smell 21
 22 the beach in the summer, you smell the suntan oil’, ‘the status of the people is so 22
 23 low’, ‘people hang their laundry in the windows’, a place in sun, which ‘honestly, I 23
 24 really think is unbearable’. *Veraneantes* in Playa de Poniente in Benidorm eagerly 24
 25 stress that *their* beach is not like Playa de Levante where the ‘British hooligans’ or 25
 26 simply ‘the tourists’ stay. In *veraneantes*’s accounts ‘the tourist’ and ‘the masses’ 26
 27 are always to be found beyond the boundaries of one’s place although their threat 27
 28 is never far enough and always seems imminent. 28

29 Scholars relying on Bourdieu’s theory of the judgement of taste portray 29
 30 resorts as sites for performing identities and assume intense competition between 30
 31 places to attract increasingly mobile and discerning tourists, a result of which is 31
 32 an increasing volatility of the fortunes of tourist destinations (Urry 1990, Munt 32
 33 1994, Shaw and Williams 1997). Yet *veaneantes* show a stunning loyalty to place, 33
 34 even after the loss of status due to perceived excessive building. This suggests 34
 35 more complex dynamics at play in the encounter of place. When Eva describes 35
 36 Altea as a place that ‘is not like Benidorm’ and adds that ‘it is a cute little village, 36
 37 and besides that *you feel at home*’ she is participating in a classificatory struggle 37
 38 seeking to distinguish herself from ‘Benidorm tourists’, ‘vulgar tourists’ or just 38
 39 ‘less distinguished’ visitors. But she is also expressing something more complex, 39
 40 personal and specific that goes beyond or before or along with class politics and 40
 41 conventions. Eva’s sense of easiness or comfort partly stems from the ongoing 41
 42 engagement with the materiality of place and the embodied activities that it affords. 42
 43 This affective disposition has more affinity to Mauss’s (1979) than Bourdieu’s 43
 44 *habitus*. Clearly Mauss’s *habitus* or *techniques of the body* are intrinsically social 44

1 but they are less determined by class and leave more space for innovation and
2 change and a more comprehensive array of contexts and experiences shaping
3 bodily and affective dispositions. As a result, the sense of distinction derived from
4 a *veraneante's* competence in the use of the beach does not necessarily involve
5 elitism or snobbishness, at least not always or not in every context and situation.
6 Ana's experience of the beach points in this direction:

7
8 People of my age have had a very close relationship with the beach and the sea.
9 We knew every centimetre of the beach, we knew the rocks over here, the rocks
10 over there, the seaweed prairies and so on. We knew it extremely well. We had a
11 very deep knowledge of it. [...] We would go to the other part of the beach where
12 the coral was, we knew that in that other place we could find the other type of
13 shells that we call *orejitas*, we knew the site where the limpets dwelt, the site
14 where the sea urchin dwelt. It was as if, you know, when you get into your own
15 house where you know where your TV is, or any other stuff is, do you know
16 what I mean? We knew it very well. The sea has been a very important part of
17 our lives here, a very important part. I could tell you [...] lots of stories around
18 the sea, many, many, many. (Ana, 51, from Valencia, Spain, regular visitor to
19 Moraira)

22 Belonging and nostalgia

23
24 Ana's analogy of the beach with her home conveys a sense of familiarity and
25 intimacy. It is a sense of familiarity stemming from practical engagement with
26 the materiality of the beach in company of others. She is referring to a kind of
27 experience in which 'the landscape is with us, not against us, just as we are part of
28 it' (Ingold 1993: 154). This familiarity with the landscape involves an attachment
29 to place which is often captured by the expression *mi pueblo*. The term *pueblo*
30 literally means village. *Mi pueblo* translates as my hometown or my family's
31 hometown and evokes a sense of belonging and a place where one feels welcomed
32 by familiar faces:

33
34 After coming to Benidorm for so long you end up seeing it as other urban people
35 see or feel their parents's pueblo, a place that you really appreciate. My parents
36 don't have a *pueblo* because they were born in Lleida, so Benidorm is my *pueblo*.
37 (Sonsoles, 24, from Lleida, Spain, regular summer visitor to Playa de Poniente
38 since she was born)

39
40 I feel very attached to this place. This is the place that comes to my mind when
41 I ask myself: "where will I retire?" I say: "I'll come to Moraira." [...] I see
42 Moraira as if it was my *pueblo*. Every time I come back to Moraira I feel as if I
43 was coming back to my *pueblo*. Do you know what I mean? Do you know about
44 the people who had to migrate from their pueblo when they are young and return

1 every year for holidays to meet their family, to reencounter their place? [...] 1
 2 Every time I come here it is as if I was coming to my *pueblo*. I have to work in 2
 3 Valencia but every weekend I come to my *pueblo*, to the place where ... to my 3
 4 roots. (Ana, 51, from Valencia, Spain, regular visitor to Moraira) 4
 5 5
 6 The affective content of the words *mi pueblo* is related, as Cristina points out, to the 6
 7 rural exodus that has drained large parts of rural Spain of their population, a process 7
 8 that reached massive proportions during the 1960s and 1970s and is still a cause 8
 9 of concern in many areas. This demographic decline has occurred all across rural 9
 10 Europe with the more agricultural southern countries amongst the most severely 10
 11 affected. As a result, significant parts of urban populations in Spain, Italy and 11
 12 Greece have now access to a second residence in the countryside, belonging either 12
 13 to them or their relatives. Home towns and rural areas are a persistent presence 13
 14 in the life of many urban families, not only through frequent visits to relatives 14
 15 and short leisure breaks, but also on a more daily basis through, for instance, 15
 16 consumption of local, frequently hand made, foods and drinks. Everyday allusions 16
 17 to home villages are not uncommonly suffused with nostalgia and travelling at 17
 18 least once a year, particularly at the time of the local summer festival, is felt as an 18
 19 obligation and a way of 'not losing touch with one's roots'. 19
 20 For those born in a village, the expression *mi pueblo* is both a statement of a fact 20
 21 – a identity acquired by chance – and an affective attachment – an active choice. In 21
 22 coastal resorts the majority of *veraneantes* are just claiming an affective attachment 22
 23 and a willingness to belong. But often it is a willingness to belong determined by 23
 24 earlier family choices. In understanding Ana's investment of Moraira with a sense 24
 25 of home, the focus needs to be placed not so much on her but on the generational 25
 26 dynamics of her family. The practice of *veraneo* is a family business whose 26
 27 choreography includes differences in lived rhythms according to age and gender 27
 28 and particular patterns of activities and attachment to (or detachment of) family 28
 29 life and place. This connection with family life is crucial to grasp the temporal 29
 30 logic of *veraneo* and leisure landscapes in the Spanish Mediterranean. 30
 31 To illustrate this point I turn to Beatrice, a French citizen that has visited 31
 32 Moraira for more than thirty years. Since Beatrice and her husband retired in the 32
 33 late 1990s they spend the spring and summer in Moraira, and the autumn and 33
 34 winter in Pau near the Pyrenees skiing and walking, something she considers an 34
 35 essential part of her winter life. Now she describes herself as 'a person with a 35
 36 double life, one in France and another one in Moraira'. In the following excerpt 36
 37 she describes this sense of belonging as involving growing roots in different places 37
 38 in a rhythomatic manner: 38
 39 39
 40 Beatrice: I knew that when children grow what they like is not being 40
 41 constantly travelling to different places but seeing always the same friends, do 41
 42 sports, you know, to have roots, another roots. What they like is changing to a 42
 43 different place but still having roots. For instance, I don't like that habit of many 43
 44 French people who visit a different place every year. I rather like to have my 44

1	own house. I rather like to change but without changing. And we still travel to	1
2	other places but at another time of the year, not during the summer.	2
3	JC: Changing without changing?	3
4	Beatrice: Yes, we change place, we change everything, we change the	4
5	language, food, I also change my readings because I read a lot in Spanish, and	5
6	we change friends. And yet we still come to our house, to a place where we have	6
7	roots.	7
8	(Beatrice, 60, retired, from Pau, France, regular visitor to Moraira)	8
9		9
10	To the extent that the aesthetic qualities and social tone of the place influenced	10
11	Beatrice's decision to acquire a property and 'grow roots' in Moraira, hers can be	11
12	seen as a form of 'elective belonging' as conceptualized by Savage et al.. (2004)	12
13	whereby attachment to place is not derived from a familiarity with a face-to-face	13
14	community but from a relational sense of place, a capability to assess a place in	14
15	relation to others and fit one's biography within its social, economic and cultural	15
16	dynamics.	16
17	For Beatrice affordances of place are key in her relational frame of awareness,	17
18	especially the affordances of the beach: 'at that moment I had two adventurous	18
19	boys and I thought Las Landas [French resort where she owned a second residence]	19
20	was not a safe place for us to spend our holidays'. As her sons were growing older	20
21	her time in Moraira, where the lack of sea currents makes swimming safer, grew	21
22	longer. Her sons preferred Moraira as a holiday place for the freedom they enjoyed	22
23	there and finally she sold the house in Las Landas. Parenting is central in the	23
24	performances of <i>veraneo</i> and in this case the affordances of place are important	24
25	in fostering a sense of attachment (see Savage et al.. 2004: 62 on belonging,	25
26	parenting and the education field). Interviewees in other resorts often highlighted	26
27	how the 'familiar' character of the beach and its 'gentle' physical attributes	27
28	provided tranquillity and relaxation to parents who do not need to closely watch	28
29	their children.	29
30	Its sensitivity to the way in which people make sense of place in relation to their	30
31	biographies confers the concept of elective belonging with temporal dynamism.	31
32	Yet the experiences of <i>veraneo</i> demand a greater attention to generational change	32
33	and emergent social networks in generating a sense of belonging. After thirty years	33
34	visiting Moraira and thanks to her and her sons' ability to speak Spanish, Beatrice's	34
35	social networks include 'natives' – born and bred in Moraira – numerous Spanish	35
36	and non-Spanish <i>veraneantes</i> , and retirement migrants. One of her sons married	36
37	a Spanish <i>veraneante</i> and they too visit the resort regularly and maintain their	37
38	social networks. Social relations in Moraira are more extensive and resilient than	38
39	the ones left behind in Las Landas. Moraira often becomes a family meeting place	39
40	as her sons now live in different locations in France. She has also learnt to accept	40
41	change in the aesthetic qualities and social tone of the place and fidelity to a face-	41
42	to-face community complements and on occasions compensates for the loss of	42
43	such qualities.	43
44		44
		45

1 There is another aspect of Beatrice's decision to 'grow roots' in Moraira that 1
 2 cannot be missed. She lived in Algeria for four years and retains special affection 2
 3 for its landscape which has climatic, botanical, geological and cultural affinities 3
 4 with the Costa Blanca. The affordances of place are significant in bringing alive her 4
 5 memories in the North of Africa. Such mnemonic potential of the Mediterranean 5
 6 landscape is explicitly referred to in the following excerpt where Marie and Alice, 6
 7 *pier noirs* – north African born French who migrated to France after the colony's 7
 8 independence – explain what led them to decide to 'grow roots' in Altea: 'We 8
 9 bought the apartment here to grow roots. For thirty years we've been coming 9
 10 here with an inexhaustible joy and pleasure. [...] We have the feeling that this 10
 11 village belongs to us'. Later on in the interview, when talking about their feelings 11
 12 towards the sea they elaborate the significance of spending their holidays by the 12
 13 Mediterranean Sea: 13

14 14

15 Alice: We were born by the sea and now we live in Paris [...]. We have lived 15
 16 by the sea in the Maghreb, Casablanca, Tangier, then Marseille and then Paris 16
 17 which is another sea populated by people. But I cannot live without Paris. [...] 17
 18 To me the sea means freedom, the colour. 18

19 Marie: And the quality of life, the different lifestyle of the Mediterranean. I 19
 20 mean that it reminds us of our roots. You know, in Algeria and Morocco there 20
 21 were also many Spaniards and people from other places and we carry that 21
 22 mixture with us, we are a kind of synthesis of that mixture. 22

23 Alice: The Sea has fed our youth, our adolescence, our childhood. You know, 23
 24 the memories of your childhood are very important. When we see this sea we 24
 25 feel good, we revive something of our adolescence, perhaps subconsciously. 25

26 JC: Do you mean that you feel that when you see this sea or any sea in 26
 27 general? 27

28 Marie: Look, the Atlantic is very nice, but it rains and the water is cold and 28
 29 it's very different. I'm talking about the colours of this sea, its light, and the 29
 30 perfumes of the countryside here, the orange blossom, the jasmine. When you 30
 31 walk along the beach of La Olla you pass next to an orange grove and a very rich 31
 32 aroma comes to you. That smell is not in the Atlantic. 32

33 (Marie and Alice, forties, from Paris, regular summer visitors to Altea for 35
 34 years) 34

35 35

36 The significance of the Mediterranean Sea and landscape for Marie and Alice 36
 37 partly lies in eliciting reminiscences of their childhood in North Africa. This is 37
 38 afforded by a sensuous encounter with the landscape. The aroma of the orange 38
 39 grove brings Marie childhood memories and a sense of place. We may understand 39
 40 this as an example of what Hetherington calls the *praesentia* of place (Hetherington 40
 41 2003, Obrador 2007). *Praesentia* is concerned with presence and confirmation. 41
 42 In this case the aroma of the orange blossom is not standing as a metaphor for 42
 43 her childhood but affording the presence of something absent – her childhood 43
 44 memories. Through the otherness of the materiality of the orange grove and its 44

1 aroma, a memory is made present. Through the feel of the aroma a *praesentia* is 1
2 revealed. What is revealed is a memory but also a sense of the familiar, a feeling 2
3 of something or somewhere known. Marie notes the aroma of the orange grove but 3
4 she also talks about other senses: touching a warm sea, appreciating the texture of 4
5 colours and light. 5
6 In her ethnography of *pie noirs* travelling to Malta, Andrea Smith (2006) 6
7 describes similar reactions to the landscape which is so reminiscent of North Africa. 7
8 The prickly pear in particular is the plant that most lively reactions provoke: 8
9 9
10 This revelling of nostalgia for the North African landscape culminated on the 10
11 last day of the trip. While waiting for the ferry to take us from Gozo to Malta, 11
12 we parked on a hill overlooking the bay. It was cold and damp, and the sun was 12
13 setting. But just next to the parked vans along the side of the road one of the most 13
14 abundant stands of Barbary figs we had seen. It was just too much. Giggling like 14
15 children, the elderly settlers in the van ahead of me began making a commotion, 15
16 taking photographs of each other and rummaging through their bags. It was time 16
17 for a Barbary fig feast! [...] Everyone began gorging themselves on the delicious 17
18 ripe fruits [...]. One rather tense, brittle woman began to talk with enthusiasm for 18
19 the first time on the trip. "Oh, this is just like my youth!" she kept exclaiming. 19
20 "You know, it has been thirty three years since I've eaten these", she told me. 20
21 "Thirty three years. How much they remind me of the good old days!" (Smith 21
22 2006: 218–9). 22
23 23
24 Such a Proustian moment is further elaborated by Giuseppe, a migrant from Italy 24
25 who settled in Altea after coming as a tourist and now spends his holidays in a 25
26 second home in his hometown in Calabria. In the excerpt below he talks effusively 26
27 about sensuous experiences: the taste of certain vegetables he picks on the shore 27
28 or the raw mussels he eats with drops of olive oil and lemon juice, the touch 28
29 of pebbles, or the slime of the octopus. Through this performative repertoire 29
30 Giuseppe is not 'making sense' of the landscape. Rather, in his encounter with its 30
31 materiality he is gaining a sense of who he is and where, he is recognizing himself 31
32 as a particular subject. Through this sensuous performative repertoire Giuseppe 32
33 is gaining a sense of place. He elaborates this point when asked to talk about the 33
34 sea: 34
35 35
36 What the sea brings to me ... this question is related to what I was telling you 36
37 earlier about the fact of identifying yourself with the Mediterranean. [...] What 37
38 it brings to me is so many things, so many things I have assimilated since early 38
39 childhood. My first memory of the sea, that's something I'll never forget. The 39
40 smell of the sea ... There are so many things ... for instance things related with 40
41 food, I have spent so many nights by the sea eating certain food: tomatoes, water 41
42 melons, olives, grapes. All those things are very related, aren't they? The smells, 42
43 the wild flowers, the wild vegetables that you pick on the rocks of the shore. 43
44 Where I was born in the south of Italy this wild vegetable is picked during 44
45 45

1 the summer and kept in vinegar. It is a type of seaweed that grows next to the 1
 2 water ... this type of vegetable I used to eat with a certain kind of food in certain 2
 3 moments and therefore you cannot but feel strongly identified with it. It happens 3
 4 the same with fried little fish, with the octopuses. For instance I'm referring to 4
 5 the feeling of capturing an octopus and smashing it thirty or forty times on a rock 5
 6 on the shore in order to soften its flesh. And by doing that it produces slime, a 6
 7 kind of surf that is sticky, a sticky secretion and you get that when you clean the 7
 8 octopus. What I'm trying to tell you is that all those things are sensations that by 8
 9 being and growing next to the sea you can live, sensations that gradually become 9
 10 part of you and you enjoy to the core, through and through. 10
 11 11

12 The taste of the mussels, the grapefruit, the melon, the olive oil, the smell of the 12
 13 wild flowers, the sea, the touch of the octopus, all these sensuous experiences 13
 14 create an experience of the beach as a place where landscape and the body 14
 15 come together. This experience of landscape is specific, local and partial and is 15
 16 concerned with confirmation rather than representation. This proximal form of 16
 17 knowing, Hetherington argues, 'helps to perform a located subjectivity constituted 17
 18 as a partial contact and involvement in the materiality of this Other' (Hetherington 18
 19 2003). Such embodied experiences of the beach as a familiar place are not available 19
 20 to anyone. It requires certain ability in the use of proximal and performative forms 20
 21 of knowledge. This ability is acquired as a matter of routine and incorporated as 21
 22 a *habitus*. 22
 23 23
 24 24

25 Conclusion 25

26 26
 27 Along with the liminal landscapes of Mediterranean beaches playfully encountered 27
 28 by many tourists (Inglis 2000), there are other overlapping or intersecting 28
 29 landscapes that revolve around a reencounter of place and people, landscapes of 29
 30 memories, heavy with time, which speak of the work invested by holidaymakers 30
 31 and migrants in creating a sense of home. Home is an essential part of travel and 31
 32 this applies not just to the practice of *veraneo* but other mobilities traversing and 32
 33 making up the Costa Blanca: the Moroccan or Senegalese migrant in Benitaxell 33
 34 longing for *papers* to begin a life in Europe and thinking about relatives left behind, 34
 35 an Algerian family resting at the petrol station in Moraira in their annual journey to 35
 36 the Kabila to reencounter friends and relatives, a Parisian family making the best 36
 37 of a week in Altea to heal family wounds, British retirement migrants recreating 37
 38 a *little England* or a cosmopolitan Mediterranean. In bringing with them stylized 38
 39 forms of feeling, sensing and remembering nurtured in other geographies and 39
 40 times, tourists and migrants turn Spanish landscapes into contingent, multifaceted 40
 41 realities. 41

42 The accounts presented in this chapter suggest that *veraneantes*'s encounter 42
 43 of place in the Costa Blanca is not a simple, linear process, partly because coastal 43
 44 resorts are lived as complex, paradoxical locales. Rather than being experienced as 44

1 spatially fixed containers of social processes, resorts are being lived as entangled 1
 2 in a complex relationality of other places and landscapes. Resorts, we might 2
 3 say, are not fixed locales but topologically complex entities put on the move in 3
 4 a variety of ways. Part of this chapter has highlighted bodily and material ways 4
 5 in which geographies and landscapes are mobilized. It has described how through 5
 6 sensuous dispositions and acts of remembrance remote geographies and/or times 6
 7 are performed as 'absent presences' that become interwoven within tourist resorts. 7
 8 The heterogeneity of these crumpled time-spaces, the increasingly warped and 8
 9 twisted topologies associated with and enabled by these pattern of dwelling-in- 9
 10 travelling, render the experience of landscape in seaside resorts a complex and 10
 11 multidirectional process. 11

12 The role of memory and social networks helps to explain why, with the 12
 13 alleged shift from modern to postmodern sensibilities, Mediterranean seaside 13
 14 resorts continue to exert such an inexhaustible appeal, why after so much 14
 15 apparent environmental destruction and the loss of status of overbuilt resorts, 15
 16 the *Mediterranean passion*, to borrow Pemble's words, is still alive for working, 16
 17 middle and upper classes. Obviously this is not the only reason in explaining the 17
 18 appeal of resorts and the power of distinctions of taste and economic and political 18
 19 processes should not be undervalued. What is needed is more empirical research 19
 20 on the relationship between class related judgements of taste, affordances of place, 20
 21 memory, social networks, and family change at an individual and societal level. 21
 22 This would allow articulating more dynamic notions of elective belonging. 22

23 With the boom in property development in the late 1990s seaside resorts have 23
 24 become more internationalized with around 50 percent of the new state development 24
 25 owned by non-Spanish EU citizens, and a significant proportion of the labour 25
 26 provided by North African, East European and South American migrants. The 26
 27 extent to which this is leading to the internationalization of social networks which 27
 28 are so central to the practice of *veraneo* is not clear, though evidence suggest that 28
 29 these mobilities largely bypass each other rather than intersect or co-amplify their 29
 30 emancipatory potential. With its recent eruption in the social sciences, the concept 30
 31 of cosmopolitanism is opening potentially fruitful lines of enquiry to explore this 31
 32 question (see Beck and Sznaider 2006). Yet, whether growing patterns of mobility 32
 33 in the Costa Blanca are creating a potential to realize more progressive societies 33
 34 or generating greater awareness about the transnational interdependencies remains 34
 35 to be seen. 35

36 The greatest difficulty in answering this question is the lack of historical 36
 37 evidence about the intensity and qualities of cosmopolitan dispositions over time 37
 38 and how these are enabled by social networks and encounters of place. For all the 38
 39 recent emphasis about 'history matters' and despite the cultural turn in tourism 39
 40 studies and its emphasis on the historical nature of travel styles (Adler 1989), 40
 41 research in tourism remains surprisingly ahistorical. In this sense what is needed 41
 42 are not so much histories of tourism but a *historical* tourism studies that is sensitive 42
 43 to the *longue durée* of demographic, socio-environmental, technological, cultural, 43
 44 44

45

1 economic and political processes underpinning travel and tourism (on historical	1
2 social sciences, see Wallerstein 2000).	2
3	3
4	4
5 References	5
6	6
7 Adler, J. 1989. Travel as performed art. <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> , 94(6),	7
8 1366–91.	8
9 Agència Valenciana de Turisme, 1999. <i>Aproximación a la Oferta y Demanda de</i>	9
10 <i>Viviendas de Uso Turístico en los Municipios de Benidorm, Cullera y Oropesa.</i>	10
11 Valencia: AVT.	11
12 Agència Valenciana de Turisme, 2001. <i>El Turismo en la Comunidad Valenciana</i>	12
13 2000. Valencia: AVT	13
14 Agència Valenciana de Turismo, 2002. <i>El Turismo en la Comunidad Valenciana</i>	14
15 2001. Valencia: AVT.	15
16 Ahmed, S., Castañeda, C., Fortier, A-M., Sheller, M. 2003. <i>Uprootings/</i>	16
17 <i>Regroundings</i> . Oxford: Berg.	17
18 Beck, U. and Sznaider, N. 2006. Unpacking cosmopolitanism for the social	18
19 sciences: a research agenda. <i>The British Journal of Sociology</i> , 57(1), 1–23.	19
20 Bourdieu, P. 1979. <i>Distinction</i> . London: Routledge.	20
21 Bruner, E. 1991. Transformation of self in tourism. <i>Annals of Tourism Research</i> ,	21
22 18(2), 238–50.	22
23 CAIB 1997. <i>Despesa Turística</i> , Mallorca: CAIB.	23
24 Crang, M. 2006. Circulation and emplacement: the hollowed-out performance	24
25 of tourism, <i>Travels in Paradox</i> , edited by C. Minca and T. Oakes. Oxford:	25
26 Rowman and Littlefield.	26
27 FIPE. 2000. Turismo residencial en España. <i>Boletín FIPE</i> , 5–6.	27
28 Inglis, F. 2000. <i>The Delicious History of the Holiday</i> . London: Routledge.	28
29 Hetherington, K. 2003. Spatial textures: place, touch, and praesentia. <i>Environment</i>	29
30 <i>and Planning A</i> , 35(11), 1933–1944.	30
31 Ingold, T. 1993. The temporality of landscape. <i>World Archaeology</i> , 25(2): 152–	31
32 74.	32
33 Instituto de Estudios Turísticos. 2000. <i>Encuesta Turística</i> . Madrid: IET.	33
34 Kaplan, C. 1997. <i>Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement</i> .	34
35 London: Duke University Press.	35
36 Lencěk, L. and Bosker, G. 1998. <i>The Beach</i> . London: Pimlico.	36
37 Löfgren, O. 1999. <i>On Holiday: A History of Vacationing</i> . Berkeley: University of	37
38 California Press.	38
39 Löfgren, O 1994. Learning to be a tourist, <i>Ethnologia Scandinavica</i> , 24, 102–5.	39
40 MacCannell, D. 1999. <i>The Tourist</i> . New York: Schocken.	40
41 Mauss, M. 1979. <i>Sociology and Psychology: Essays</i> . London: Routledge.	41
42 Monfort, M. and Ivars, J. 2001. Towards a sustained competitiveness of Spanish	42
43 tourism, in <i>Mediterranean Tourism: Facets of Socioeconomic Development and</i>	43
44	44

1	<i>Cultural Change</i> , edited by Y. Apostopoulos, P. Loukissas and L. Leontidou.	1
2	London: Routledge.	2
3	Munt, I. 1994. The 'Other' postmodern tourism: culture, travel and the new middle	3
4	classes. <i>Theory, Culture & Society</i> , 11(3), 101–23.	4
5	Obrador-Pons, P. 2003. Being-on-holiday: tourist dwelling, bodies and place.	5
6	<i>Tourist Studies</i> , 3(1), 47–66.	6
7	Obrador-Pons, P. 2007. A haptic geography of the beach: naked bodies, vision and	7
8	touch. <i>Social and Cultural Geography</i> , 8(1), 123–41.	8
9	Pemble, J. 1987. <i>The Mediterranean Passion</i> . Oxford: Clarendon.	9
10	Ritzer, G. 1993. <i>The McDonaldization of Society</i> . London: Sage.	10
11	Ritzer, G. and Liska, A. 1997. 'McDisneyization' and 'post-tourism':	11
12	complementary perspectives on contemporary tourism', in <i>Touring Cultures</i> ,	12
13	edited by C. Rojek and J. Urry. London: Routledge.	13
14	Rojek, C. 1993. <i>Ways of Escape</i> . London: Routledge.	14
15	Savage, M., Bagnall, G. and Longhurst, B. 2004. <i>Globalization and Belonging</i> .	15
16	London: Sage.	16
17	Shaw, G. and Williams, A. 1997. <i>The Rise and Fall of British Seaside Resorts</i> .	17
18	London: Thomson Learning.	18
19	Smith, A.L. 2006. <i>Colonial Memory and Postcolonial Europe: Maltese Settlers in</i>	19
20	<i>Algeria and France</i> . Bloomington Indiana: University Press.	20
21	Urry, J. 1990. <i>The Tourist Gaze</i> . London: Sage.	21
22	Wallerstein, I. 2000. From sociology to historical social science: prospects and	22
23	obstacles. <i>The British Journal of Sociology</i> , 51(1), 25–36	23
24		24
25		25
26		26
27		27
28		28
29		29
30		30
31		31
32		32
33		33
34		34
35		35
36		36
37		37
38		38
39		39
40		40
41		41
42		42
43		43
44		44
		45

Proof Copy

Chapter 7

Hosts and Guests, Guests and Hosts: British Residential Tourism in the Costa del Sol¹

Karen O'Reilly

When Pau Obrador first asked if I would like to contribute to this book on tourism cultures in the Mediterranean I immediately said yes. I have been studying and writing about British migrants in Spain for over ten years, and have been a member of the community as a second-home owner or peripatetic migrant for much of that time.² Most of my work has been at pains to point out that these migrants do not see themselves as tourists. They mark themselves out in opposition to tourists. They say 'we live here' or 'we are here to stay'. They talk about tourists as 'other', as a nuisance, as 'them not us', as the visitors who come and take up their time and want to be shown around, as family who think they (the migrants) are always on holiday (O'Reilly 2003).

On the other hand it has been undeniable in everything I write that this is a tourism-informed mobility (cf. Williams and Hall 2002). The migrants live in a tourist place, alongside tourists, sharing in tourist spaces and activities, spending time with tourists at work and play, often living leisured lives marked by tourist activities. British migration to Spain has been concentrated very much in the coastal zones which have been developed for tourism, with the infrastructure, tourist objects, activities, and services tourists are deemed to require. This argument has been pursued elsewhere (see O'Reilly 2003), but what continues to fascinate me about the Brits in Spain and sustained me in writing about this migration on and off for so many years, is the incredible contradictions that mark the migrants's lives, their identities, their experiences, dreams, aspirations, and frustrations. Their relationship to Spain is circumscribed by the fact that for them Spain symbolizes holiday and escape (and tourism), but they insist they are not tourists themselves.

¹ I would like to dedicate this paper to Valerie, who very sadly and unexpectedly passed away since this paper was first drafted, demonstrating rather starkly the materiality of our bodies. She is missed, and I hope I have done justice to her sincere attempts to settle in Spain. Research for the paper was funded, between 2003 and 2005, by the Economic and Social Research Council of Great Britain (Grant No. R000223944).

² There are currently 600,000 registered British living in Spain, and one can safely estimate that this only represents a third of those who actually live there most of the year. If all British in Spain were registered they would be the largest minority group in the country. See www.ine.es.

1 They declare a love of Spain while reminding each other 'we are guests here'. They 1
 2 say 'we live here' and yet go 'home' regularly. They say they want to integrate in 2
 3 Spain yet make little effort to put such aspirations into practice. They express a 3
 4 love of Spain but often seem to have a vague understanding of its culture and 4
 5 customs (O'Reilly 2000 and 2007, King et al. 2000, Rodriquez et al. 1998). 5

6 Yet even as I write these things I know I am making a lie of other things I have 6
 7 written, where I have argued that many British in Spain *do not* go home all the 7
 8 time, or that most *do* want to integrate and *do* try to settle (O'Reilly 2007). I have 8
 9 had to distinguish those who live in Spain all year round (what I have called full 9
 10 residents) from those who spend some of the year in Spain (seasonal, peripatetic 10
 11 or returning residents). And even then there are those who are simply experiencing 11
 12 life in Spain for a while and those who have committed themselves emotionally 12
 13 and financially and cannot easily return to the UK. There are some who spend a 13
 14 little time each year in Spain, but consider UK to be home, and others who live in 14
 15 Spain but regularly spend a little time 'back home' (O'Reilly 2000). A key problem 15
 16 with ethnographic research is that one becomes so familiar with individual people 16
 17 and individual lives it becomes impossible to continue to talk both generally and 17
 18 honestly about a group. 18

19 But however much I go round and round in circles trying to understand and 19
 20 explain these people and their problems and pleasures, intentions and impacts, it 20
 21 is impossible to deny their relationship to tourism and the way cultures of tourism 21
 22 impact on their lives. It is also impossible to deny the impact their cultures of 22
 23 tourism have on the surrounding areas, people and things. I am beginning to think 23
 24 that the term 'residential tourism', that many Spanish use to describe them, is 24
 25 actually a useful term after all, though I have avoided it because the migrants 25
 26 themselves argue against it. There is an extent to which all these migrants are 26
 27 turning tourism into a way of life and an extent to which the very contradictions 27
 28 outlined above are the very core of what they are and how they live.³ 28

29

30

31 **Things and Actions: Materiality and Performance** 31

32

33 Usually I like to work inductively, entering the field, observing, joining in, and 33
 34 learning about people's lives from their own perspective before stepping out, 34
 35 seeing what sense I can make of it all for others, or how what I have witnessed 35
 36 and experienced can be translated or made sense of using theories and concepts to 36
 37 frame the various general themes I wish to explicate (O'Reilly 2005). However, for 37
 38 this chapter I have proceeded somewhat counter-intuitively. In the introduction the 38

39

40 3 There is an extent to which the argument in this paper is relevant for other North 40
 41 European migrants in Spain's coastal zones. However, research with these other groups has 41
 42 tended to focus exclusively on retirement migrants and to employ quantitative methods, so 42
 43 the applicability for this thesis to those groups remains a question (see Aledo 2005, Casado- 43
 44 Díaz et al., 2004, Rodríguez et al. 2005, Warnes et al. 2005). 44

1 editors of this book describe a new approach to tourism and culture that accounts 1
 2 for the relationships between people and things, the activities and objects of 2
 3 tourism, that understands the outcome of this interaction in terms of performance, 3
 4 and considers the impact of tourism cultures on objects and people. I decided to 4
 5 explore this new theoretical paradigm to see if there was anything that could act 5
 6 as sensitizing concepts that I might take back to the field and thereby 'see' things 6
 7 I had not seen before. 7

8 Haldrup and Larsen (2006), argue that materiality and material objects need to 8
 9 be incorporated into cultural accounts of tourism; that we need to re-examine the 9
 10 way things around us shape and are shaped by practice. This literature argues that 10
 11 the 'cultural turn' with its emphasis on thinking, imagining and representing, treats 11
 12 things as signs rather than concrete objects; whereas actions are only actionable 12
 13 because of the existence of things and technologies. They suggest that the world of 13
 14 leisure is not merely a human accomplishment, and seem to imply that *things* also 14
 15 accomplish. It seems to me this argument is a bit like Emile Durkheim's about the 15
 16 real nature of society, by saying people make and use things but then things come 16
 17 to have a life of their own – inasmuch as some things are doable and others not. 17
 18 I think this is partly true. Modern telecommunications technology, for example, 18
 19 has led to certain forms of communication, and therefore social life, that could not 19
 20 have been imagined in the past. On the other hand, mobile phone companies, for 20
 21 example, did not foresee the extent of the use of text-messaging and the impact 21
 22 that has had on young people's lives but have since adapted their technologies to 22
 23 take this into account, adding photo messaging and emoticons. This argument is 23
 24 not to deny that things have 'sign-value' but to acknowledge they also have 'use- 24
 25 value'. 25

26 In his fascinating introduction to the field of tourism, Adrian Franklin (2003) 26
 27 contends that tourism's objects can have a life of their own or can impact in 27
 28 unpredictable ways. John Urry's (1990) important attention to the tourist gaze, he 28
 29 believes, does not go far enough. Tourists do not just look upon, they buy, carry, 29
 30 transport, experience and use objects. In order to illustrate the role of objects, 30
 31 Franklin describes R. Ewins's study of bark cloth souvenirs in Fiji. Bark cloth, 31
 32 or tapa, was originally made from native plants and used in Fiji for clothing, 32
 33 bedding and ceremonial purposes. It was ornately decorated and also light to carry 33
 34 so was an ideal souvenir for the early tourists who arrived by steam ship. As a 34
 35 result locals started to make smaller pieces specifically for this market. However, 35
 36 although it has been common to argue that tourism thus commoditizes, trivializes, 36
 37 and ultimately extinguishes local cultures, Ewins argues that this market in tapa 37
 38 has actually ensured the continuation and even intensification of a tradition and 38
 39 economic activity which might otherwise have been lost as a result of economic 39
 40 and cultural competition from migrant Indian businesses. 40

41 These themes are not restricted to tourism studies by any means. In social 41
 42 anthropology Tim Ingold (1995, 2000) has been developing an argument that 42
 43 things evolve as the outcome of the interrelationship of the human and non-human 43
 44 worlds; that the design of a thing is not so much driven by the human imagination 44
 45

1 as by its innate properties and malleability. Humans, by working on the world 1
 2 become part and parcel of the transformation of the system of relations within 2
 3 which both the human and the thing come into being. Here natural selection and 3
 4 cultural selection work hand in hand, so that like genetic dispositions, ideas are 4
 5 weeded out, adapted and developed over time and through the mutual weaving of 5
 6 people and materials. 6

7 In philosophy, Bruno Latour (2000) has been arguing that all human society 7
 8 is built with things. This is not simply to say that the material matters but to 8
 9 acknowledge that in fact there is no material versus human; humans are material 9
 10 and the material, as soon as it enters the social world (by being seen, thought about, 10
 11 used or remembered), ceases being an object. Rather than objects and subjects, for 11
 12 Latour there are only trajectories and transformations, paths and trails. Things 12
 13 take on the impression of our use, and social relations become mediated by things. 13
 14 But here things are *mediators* not intermediaries. In other words the things make 14
 15 or form social relations. However, at the same time these things remain frail, 15
 16 amendable. 16

17 Parallel to the development of ideas outlined above, others have been calling 17
 18 for more attention to the dynamic nature of place construction, to acknowledge 18
 19 change, fluidity and creation. Simon Coleman and Mike Crang (2002) argue that, 19
 20 contrary to the way they are portrayed in earlier tourist literature in which place = 20
 21 culture = people, and where tourists are often depicted as the cause of breakdown 21
 22 of this healthy relationship, places are in fact fluid, dynamic, multicultural, and 22
 23 created through performance. Again, these authors acknowledge the role the 23
 24 concept of the tourist gaze, has played but recognize its limitations in looking only 24
 25 at what is seen, ignoring what is done and what is seen and done back. It is through 25
 26 embodied performance, they contend, that places (and lifestyles and cultures) 26
 27 are effected. They argue for the telling of spatial stories. 'We want to open up 27
 28 the possibilities of understanding tourism as an event that is about mobilizing 28
 29 and reconfiguring spaces and places, bringing them into new constellations and 29
 30 therefore transforming them.' (Coleman and Crang 2002: 10). 30

31 What I take from all this is the need to rethink what people do and with what on 31
 32 the Costa del Sol, and to ask what is the role of things, bodies and performance in 32
 33 residential tourism. For the rest of this paper I will respond to the call to consider 33
 34 the dynamic relationship between people and things, and the ways in which people 34
 35 actively and bodily involve themselves in the material world. I concede I have been 35
 36 guilty of seeing tourism purely as a system of signs, adding meaning to people's 36
 37 lives through what it signifies (pleasure, escape, contact with the Other, and so on). 37
 38 I have ignored the material in favour of the ideal factors in enabling and promoting 38
 39 first tourism then residential tourism, and neglected to consider residential tourism 39
 40 not as a state but as a continual performance, a balancing act of here and there, 40
 41 utopia and reality, tourism (travelling) and arriving. 41

42 The next two sections of this paper explore the material factors that have enabled 42
 43 and promoted tourism-related expectations and activities, thus incorporating 43
 44 materiality into the cultural account (Haldrup and Larsen 2006). Here I also 44

1 acknowledge the way humans transform the world around them through their 1
 2 actions, and thus the co-creation of the material world and tourism culture in the 2
 3 Costa del Sol through transformation and performance (Coleman and Crang 2002). 3
 4 I then proceed to examine the complex material cultures that are woven into the 4
 5 everyday lives of British residents in Spain and demonstrate how it is the very 5
 6 contradiction between residence and tourism that enables residential tourists to 6
 7 live life as a kind of escape (sometimes less satisfactorily than others, see O'Reilly 7
 8 2007). Residential tourism thus entails a subtle and continual balancing act, which 8
 9 is managed, practiced or performed on a daily basis especially through the act of 9
 10 being both hosts and guests. 10

11 11

12 12

13 **Materiality of tourism** 13

14 14

15 Regardless of Franklin's (2003) argument that tourism is not so much an escape 15
 16 from modernity as an aspect of it, I remain convinced that British residential 16
 17 tourism is driven by a desire to escape, a search for the authentic, for the past and 17
 18 for community. I am convinced of this because this is the way residential tourists 18
 19 frame their motivations. They continually disparage Britain (which is unusual for 19
 20 migrants) and illustrate the pull factors that attract them to Spain. According to 20
 21 a whole range of studies (Ackers and Dwyer 2004, Aledo 2005, Casado-Díaz et 21
 22 al.. 2004, O'Reilly 2000 and 2007, Rodríguez et al.. 2005, Warnes et al.. 2005) 22
 23 their main reasons for moving are: for 'quality of life', the pace of life, or for a 23
 24 slower, relaxed life; the climate/ sun (which enables health and relaxation); the 24
 25 cost of living, cheap property (enabling early retirement and/or a better lifestyle); 25
 26 a business opportunity (to fund a better life); for a better life for the children; the 26
 27 culture (which they believe includes a sense of community, respect for the elderly, 27
 28 safety, and less crime); closeness to home, and other ties and connections; the 28
 29 desire to leave their home country (because of high crime rates, and too many 29
 30 immigrants!, or to escape the rat-race, failing businesses, unemployment, or the 30
 31 political situation); and to go somewhere 'you can be yourself'. 31

32 One could argue that the Costa del Sol provides all these through imaginings, 32
 33 representations and the social construction of space (O'Reilly 2000). But it is 33
 34 undeniable that first of all the Costa del Sol was able to provide many things 34
 35 *materially*. The geographical area has innate properties humans work with (Ingold 35
 36 2000). After all it has not been called the sunshine coast for nothing: it boasts an 36
 37 average of nine hours of sunshine a day. The sea is clear, blue and warm and the 37
 38 sands are golden. The heat of the summer especially, combined with the relatively 38
 39 low humidity mean no one goes anywhere in much of a hurry and the Spanish 39
 40 tendency to worry about things tomorrow rather than today is more in evidence in 40
 41 Andalucía than the rest of Spain. The coastal fishing villages and the surrounding 41
 42 white villages, symbolic of traditional unspoilt community life, were idyllic 42
 43 locations in which to locate the developing mass tourism of the late 1960s. Trail- 43
 44 blazing travellers, intellectuals and artists had already visited and recorded their 44

45

1 experiences for others, including, for example, Ernest Hemingway and Gerald 1
 2 Brenan and other ‘professionals’ from diverse parts of the world (Fraser 1973). 2
 3 Tourists then merely followed these well-worn paths to established destinations 3
 4 (MacCannell 1976), seeing how others have used these spaces, going there and 4
 5 thus transforming them again in the process. 5

6 Of course, the gradual increase in visitor numbers together with the advent 6
 7 of the package holiday led to an unprecedented period of development in the 7
 8 1970s. Some would say the area was spoiled, but for the tourists this also meant 8
 9 that materially they could still go to warm seas, golden sands, white villages, 9
 10 Mediterranean food and wine, and now with a built in infrastructure that made 10
 11 the whole thing easier, and it was still cheaper than home. Tourism theories that 11
 12 describe visitors sampling a little bit of the culture and the way of life without 12
 13 having to become too adept at the culture, without learning the language, and so 13
 14 on, really made sense in this situation (Boorstin 1964, MacCannell 1976). Indeed 14
 15 one could describe Costa del Sol tourism as the archetypal mass seaside tourism 15
 16 of the 60s and 70s. The Costa del Sol, I would argue, has been created for and by 16
 17 travel, tourism and now residential tourism more than any other tourist space. And 17
 18 of course, these types of mobility in turn have emerged out of the use and creation 18
 19 of this space for these purposes Haldrup and Larsen 2006). Even Coleman and 19
 20 Crang have to agree in the midst of their argument against such a perspective, 20
 21 that ‘if one observes the sprawl of concrete along the Mediterranean coast with 21
 22 its assorted “authentic English pubs”, the vision of tourism as homogenizing and 22
 23 destroying local particularity might seem to have some credibility’ (2002: 2). 23
 24 24
 25 25

26 **Materiality of Residential Tourism** 26

27 27
 28 Materially, things have continued to develop and change in both the UK and in 28
 29 Spain. In 1975, the death of Franco removed many disincentives to migration 29
 30 for Europeans. Relations between Britain and Spain gradually became more 30
 31 Europeanized culminating in the free movement of individuals introduced in the 31
 32 Maastricht Treaty in 1992. The growth of the annual holiday combined with an 32
 33 increase in expendable wealth for many Europeans during the 1970s and 1980s, 33
 34 especially relative to Spain (Bedarida 1991), and owning a second home became 34
 35 the ultimate consumer aspiration in the newly affluent societies (Svensson 1989). 35
 36 A massive growth in the UK property market in the 1980s meant people could 36
 37 sell homes at huge profits and buy upmarket and cheaper in Spain, thus funding 37
 38 a new lifestyle in the bargain and, even during the subsequent property crash and 38
 39 downturn, the exchange rate between the pound sterling and the peseta remained 39
 40 favourable to Brits. Later, rural and inland tourism, and then what several Spanish 40
 41 academics and commentators have already called residential tourism (here referring 41
 42 to second home ownership and long-term tourism, Aledo and Mazón, 2004) were 42
 43 actively encouraged by Spain’s tourist board to compensate for the seasonal and 43
 44 regional nature of tourism. This active promotion of property purchase and of 44

1 tourism to rural areas has gone some way to encouraging the rural and inland 1
 2 migration of Europeans during the 1990s, thus taking on something of a life of its 2
 3 own (Franklin 2003). Costa del Sol residential tourism is both co-created and co- 3
 4 creating. Second-home owners were joined by retirees, looking to spend their third 4
 5 age (at least some of the year) in comfortable and reasonably priced surroundings. 5
 6 These were joined by bar and restaurant owners and others who provided services 6
 7 for the more settled migrants and tourists. As time has gone by younger migrants 7
 8 with families have joined the earlier migrants and now British are living in Spain 8
 9 in all manner of flexible ways. All this has been rehearsed elsewhere (King et 9
 10 al. 2000, O'Reilly 2000, Casado Diaz et al. 2004). I have reiterated it here in 10
 11 acknowledgement of the relevance of material (as opposed to merely ideal) factors 11
 12 in residential tourism. 12

13 Of course there are also more general material conditions which impact on 13
 14 residential tourism. We can summarize these as follows: globalization, increased 14
 15 interconnectedness and time-space compression (Giddens 1990); increased and 15
 16 turbulent forms of geographical mobility and a general fluidity in contemporary 16
 17 lifestyles (Papastergiadis 2000, Urry 2000, Bauman 2000); the rise of information 17
 18 technology and the network society; the spread of mass communications, cheap 18
 19 and expanded air and road travel; flexibility in labour markets, the end of the 'job 19
 20 for life', more working from home, the ability to live and work in different places, 20
 21 and with these, increased leisure time in affluent societies, extended holidays, and 21
 22 early retirement (Pollert 1991, Michie and Sheehan 2003). On a more negative 22
 23 note, increases in redundancies, temporary work, insecurity, and struggling 23
 24 small businesses encourage risk-taking behaviours such as working cash in hand 24
 25 (O'Reilly 2007); and finally migration chains, and the role of intermediaries – 25
 26 estate agents, financial institutions, mass media – promote and enable migrations 26
 27 (Castles and Miller 2003). 27

28 28
 29 29

30 **Utopian Dreams** 30 31 31

32 Increasing numbers of residential tourists, then, are attempting to emulate the 32
 33 tourism-informed lifestyle in more and more flexible ways. The one thing that has 33
 34 remained continuous is the description of the place they are going to as escape, 34
 35 even as materially things have changed. But not only do they describe escape, they 35
 36 live and perform it on a daily basis. They tend to avoid routine, to focus on leisure 36
 37 rather than work, to work informally or casually, and to deny routine pressures 37
 38 and strains. They spend a lot of time with holiday-makers and thus avoid serious 38
 39 conversations, and they are loathe to have their lives structured or controlled, often 39
 40 avoiding registering with the town hall or paying taxes (O'Reilly 2000 and 2003). 40
 41 In other words their lifestyles and (material) cultures are *effected* in relation to 41
 42 material factors through embodied performance (Coleman and Crang 2002). 42

43 MacCannell (1976) famously defined tourism in terms of the existential quest 43
 44 for the authentic, arguing that as modern life becomes increasingly adulterated 44
 45 45

1 the desire for the real or original increases. Now, many tourism theories have 1
 2 challenged this perspective, but only in as much as it is based on an assumption 2
 3 that there is a real, authentic or original to experience. Authenticity can only be 3
 4 staged if there is such a thing to stage, and preserve (Coleman and Crang 2002). 4
 5 Franklin (2003: 24) goes further, arguing that tourism is not so much a desire to 5
 6 escape modernity as a means to take part in it; 'the quintessential expression and 6
 7 performance of modern life'. But I think even if we accept (as we must) that cultures 7
 8 are not bounded, coherent or firmly located, and that tourism is as much part of the 8
 9 everyday as an attempt to escape it, nevertheless we must still acknowledge that 9
 10 British residential tourists describe a search for escape, community, the past, the 10
 11 real, the slow, and the uncomplicated. 11

12 I do not think that this escape is necessarily an escape from modernity or 12
 13 from urban lifestyles (that assumes that life actually was once better); I think it 13
 14 is simply that there is a timeless idea that life was once better, or that it could be 14
 15 better. The themes are the same as far back and as broadly as the timeless theme 15
 16 of utopia. John Carey (1999) has traced utopia as a genre as far back as ancient 16
 17 Egypt. Utopias can be forecasts, dreams, stories, descriptions, the imaginary 17
 18 voyage, the earthly or heavenly paradise, the political manifesto, and of course 18
 19 the search for Eldorado. Carey believes utopias express a desire to replace the 19
 20 world that we know, whatever that world looks like, but they do share key themes 20
 21 which we can certainly recognize in residential tourism: the desire to get rid of 21
 22 criminals (or to move away from them), a search for selflessness and community 22
 23 spirit, a search for quality of life, tranquillity and beauty (and sometimes achieving 23
 24 this by looking inward and ignoring the world around you). Utopians are fair and 24
 25 reasonable and true to 'man's' true nature (whatever that is taken to mean), and 25
 26 utopias often look back to the past or forward to a better future, and include transit 26
 27 to some other place, 'where something can be learned about how life should be 27
 28 lived' (Carey 1999: 1). 28

29 But utopia is nowhere. It cannot exist in reality. Tourism works because (for 29
 30 some types of tourism) it is about seeing this other world for a while but then going 30
 31 back to reality; gazing on it but staying safe. Residential tourism works as long 31
 32 as the participants remain in but not in, of but not of, home but not home, neither 32
 33 here nor there. In other words the contradictions are essential: they explain the 33
 34 lifestyle. Residential tourism is managed by continually balancing tourism and 34
 35 residence, and one of the key ways this is achieved is through acting as hosts to 35
 36 their guests. It is fascinating to see this in action. Residential tourists learn all 36
 37 about the area, show their visitors around, share their knowledge, and act in many 37
 38 ways as tour guides. At the same time, of course, they act as tourists themselves, 38
 39 joining in activities and gazing on sights and landscapes. The act and performance 39
 40 of touring, showing people around, taking part in tourist activities marks them as 40
 41 both hosts and guests. 41

42 42
 43 43
 44 44

1 Hosts and Guests

2
3 In 2001 Mike and Valerie, who were both then in their 50s decided to quit their 3
4 jobs, sell their house and move to Malaga for a better life. They calculated that 4
5 if they sold their house in the UK and bought a cheaper one in Spain they could 5
6 live carefully off the remainder of their capital until they reached retirement age 6
7 and could claim small pensions. They bought a house in the countryside, partly 7
8 because Mike wanted a big garden to work on and partly because they could not 8
9 afford anything very close to the coast. They spoke very little Spanish before they 9
10 arrived but had every intention to learn the language once they had settled. To an 10
11 extent they assumed that living in the countryside would mean they would learn 11
12 the language simply by being there and having to use it. In fact being early retired 12
13 meant that their contact with Spanish people was restricted to shop assistants and 13
14 waiters and the occasional health or council official. They found that it was not at 14
15 all easy to just go out and get to know Spanish locals. On the other hand, given 15
16 that there are many British people living in the area, it was very easy to meet their 16
17 own compatriots, make friends, get help and advice, and generally build up a good 17
18 network of friends and acquaintances who all spoke English. This is not what they 18
19 had intended, of course, it just kind of happened. They continue, even now, to 19
20 attend Spanish classes regularly, and Valerie has an arrangement with her dentist's 20
21 assistant whereby they meet regularly for Spanish and English conversation. But 21
22 Valerie is sad that the friendship has not developed further and that they seem to 22
23 have made no real Spanish friends, other than people to simply nod and say 'hello' 23
24 to in the neighbourhood. 24

25 I have explained this lack of integration as being the result of a combination of 25
26 factors: many British in Spain are retired and therefore do not meet Spanish people 26
27 in their daily lives in order to build relationships and acquire good language skills; 27
28 many of those who do work, work in the tourist industry or with other migrants 28
29 (in estate agencies, bars, timeshare sales, and property maintenance); there are so 29
30 many tourists and other migrants in the area it is easier not to speak Spanish than 30
31 to learn it; and as more younger migrants settle in the area the more they provide 31
32 work for themselves in the form of businesses offering a range of services to both 32
33 the settled migrant community and the tourists. It is now possible to get your hair 33
34 cut and styled, your dog's hair cut and styled, have an extension built on your 34
35 house, have your garden maintained, buy a car, get your pool cleaned, and have 35
36 your legs waxed without speaking a word of Spanish (and perhaps without even 36
37 meeting a Spanish person). On top of that one can receive British or English- 37
38 language daily papers and even watch, through satellite or cable, all the British 38
39 free view or English-language television channels. 39

40 Mike and Valerie spend their time engaged in a multitude of activities. They 40
41 are members of a gardening club and an amateur theatre group, Valerie does line- 41
42 dancing and runs a small brownie-guide club, they play tennis and are members of 42
43 a bird-watching group. All of these groups are English-speaking and all are made 43
44 up of a mixture of (mostly English) migrants, seasonal migrants and sometimes 44

45

1 tourists or visitors. However, one activity they engage in above all others is being 1
 2 hosts to their long stream of visitors from the UK. Like many of the British who 2
 3 are settled in Spain they complain about the cost, effort, strain and interruption to 3
 4 their routine caused by the fact that one can ensure above all else that when you 4
 5 live in Spain people will visit you. In a survey I conducted amongst those who live 5
 6 in Spain 97 percent said they have visitors from home and some stay up to a few 6
 7 months at a time. As one man put it half jokingly: 7

8
 9 It comes to something when you've got to move two thousand miles to be 9
 10 popular, but all of a sudden all these friends that I haven't spoken to for years are 10
 11 suddenly, "oh can we come and stay with you for a week?" And I go "sorry, who 11
 12 are you again?" and they say something like "Oh, I was behind you in the queue 12
 13 in the bank once. You know me!" 13

14
 15 The contradiction is in the fact that although they complain about it, they do it all 15
 16 so well and even seem to encourage the activity. I would consider visiting friends 16
 17 and relatives to be a material fact of living in Spain for British migrants, and the 17
 18 way this is managed can be understood as a performance of the balance between 18
 19 hosts and guests, between living and touring, being of but not of the society they 19
 20 live in. 20

21 Valerie and Mike assiduously collect tourism leaflets and brochures and general 21
 22 information about their area to the extent that they would make tour guides appear 22
 23 uninformed. Valerie knows where the tourist office is in her town (though it took 23
 24 me weeks to locate it), and regularly picks up the newspaper, *Malaga Rural*, which 24
 25 richly describes local villages and events. She is familiar with the location of several 25
 26 national parks and public gardens in her area. She knows exactly when what ferias 26
 27 are on in which village, likes to go with visitors to as many as possible, and is able 27
 28 to explain the meanings of a range of religious ceremonies and processions. She 28
 29 knows the date of *Cóin's Festival de los Naranjos*, and the best spot to witness the 29
 30 celebration of the *Noche de San Juan*, which takes place in coastal towns on the 30
 31 longest day of the year. She loves to take visitors to *Mijas's International Day*. 31
 32 Mike knows the fastest or most scenic routes to historic and other tourist sites, the 32
 33 viewing places to stop at en route, and the location of the best car parks. He can 33
 34 take visitors swimming in the reservoirs at El Chorro Gorge and to see the place 34
 35 where *von Ryan's Express* was filmed, in the space of one day, passing a café on 35
 36 the way there, a restaurant at midday, and a café on the way back. Valerie and Mike 36
 37 have located Roman baths in Antequera, know when to spot griffon vultures in El 37
 38 Torcal, and enjoy taking visitors on the costal walk from La Cala del Moral. 38

39 Valerie and Mike believe that learning about local places and events, histories, 39
 40 geographies and cultures, makes living in Spain more interesting for themselves. 40
 41 They explain that having many visitors throughout the year can become tedious 41
 42 without new places to visit. Also, visitors tend to return more than once and so 42
 43 need new places to see themselves. In this way Valerie and Mike are merely being 43
 44 good hosts, sharing and describing their home. However, being retired and living 44

1 leisured lifestyles, they are thus free to join their tourists in their touring and so, 1
 2 like many of the migrants in Spain, they try to treat the time when their visitors 2
 3 come as a bit of a holiday and sight-seeing tour themselves. To this extent they 3
 4 are tourists. 4

5 But Valerie, Mike and their visitors are never really part of what they see and 5
 6 do. For a start locals do not go to lots of *ferias* and *fiestas*, just their own, especially 6
 7 when it comes to the *Romería* or the Easter parades. And when residential tourists 7
 8 and their visitors stand, as I have done many a time, watching a procession or a 8
 9 *Romería*, or taking part in a giant country picnic, they tend to feel out of it, lonely 9
 10 while in the thick of things, left out. They remain strangers, for whom nothing can 10
 11 be taken for granted and all is open to question. As Mike explained: ‘you can read 11
 12 all you like about the different things, but you are never really sure what is really 12
 13 going on, and you always feel like an outsider really’. For all migrants, the world 13
 14 around them is a field of adventure and a topic of investigation (Schutz 1971) and 14
 15 Mike’s and Valerie’s studying and attempts to take part are merely more of that. 15
 16 The more they learn and try to engage the more like strangers they become. 16

17 Valerie and Mike, like many migrants in Spain, also complain about being 17
 18 hosts to so many guests. It can get boring and tedious, and costly, especially if 18
 19 people stay too long. And, after all, the tension between trying to live somewhere 19
 20 and trying to be on holiday is experienced as any tension, and is never quite 20
 21 comfortable. They tend to eat out a lot when visitors come, and women thus 21
 22 complain that it is impossible to maintain a healthy diet. They spend a lot of 22
 23 money on fuel taking visitors around. Mike says he sometimes feels like a taxi- 23
 24 driver. Valerie gets worn out with cleaning the house in preparation for guests who 24
 25 treat her home like a hotel. They want to continue to do their routine things – like 25
 26 gardening and learning Spanish – and have to fit these in around tourist activities. 26
 27 But this performance of hosts and guests is the daily practice of balancing tourism 27
 28 and residence and cannot be resolved. 28

29 Another aspect of this balancing act between home and away, touring and 29
 30 residence is that many British migrants in Spain return to the UK regularly, where 30
 31 they are reminded they are now away from home in what used to be their ‘normal’ 31
 32 surroundings. My survey of 340 British residents was only distributed to those 32
 33 who consider they live in Spain and yet, nevertheless, 64 percent of respondents 33
 34 return to the UK each year and a quarter of those had returned for more than one 34
 35 month in the past year. Mike and Valerie go back each summer, to escape the 35
 36 intense heat in Andalucía at that time of year. Valerie goes for a couple of months. 36
 37 It gives her time to see her mother and her grandchildren and to escape what she 37
 38 calls the trials and tribulations of living in Spain: the surprising cold and damp 38
 39 in the winter, the frequent power cuts, the way her access road gets flooded each 39
 40 winter, the cracks that are appearing in her bedroom walls as a result of extreme 40
 41 weather conditions, the stray dogs that drive her mad with their barking at night, 41
 42 and constant frustration at her lack of Spanish language skills. Mike goes for just 42
 43 a few weeks as he enjoys working on his garden in Spain and hates to leave it too 43
 44 44

45

1 long. Also, he feels too much like a visitor and thus a nuisance in the UK. Valerie, 1
 2 on the other hand, feels a little bit as if she is going home again each time. 2

3 3

4 4

5 **Conclusion** 5

6 6

7 In conclusion, it seems residential tourism (a term I have avoided over the years) 7
 8 might be the one best suited to explain British migration to Spain's coastal 8
 9 areas. Residential tourism is an oxymoron, a contradiction in terms, and British 9
 10 residential tourists practice, perform and experience this paradox on a daily basis. 10
 11 Recent developments in philosophy, anthropology, cultural studies and tourism that 11
 12 focus on the inter-relationship of people and things, that explore actions and the 12
 13 performance and co-creation of cultures and places, help us understand residential 13
 14 tourism as the daily practice of a contradiction. Residential tourism is an escape 14
 15 attempt, a utopian dream, and Spain's coasts materially offer idyllic locations to 15
 16 which to escape. The creation of these spaces as sites for pleasure and leisure has 16
 17 then provided the infrastructure that enables residential tourism. Later, supported 17
 18 by a host of material factors, the settled tourists themselves further facilitate the 18
 19 migration of others. But utopias are nowhere and cannot exist in reality, so the 19
 20 escape attempt has to be managed on a daily basis by balancing competing fields 20
 21 (home/away, tourism/residence). One of the most stark ways this is witnessed is 21
 22 through the practice of hosts and guests: residential tourists are both. 22

23 23

24 24

25 **References** 25

26 26

27 Ackers, L. and Dwyer, P. 2004. Fixed laws, fluid lives: the citizenship status of 27
 28 post-retirement migrants in the European Union. *Ageing and Society*, 24(3), 28
 29 451–75. 29

30 Antonio-Tur, A. 2005. Los otros inmigrantes: residentes europeos en el sudeste 30
 31 español, in *Movimientos Migratorios Contemporáneos*, edited by J. Fernández- 31
 32 Rufete and M. Jiménez. Murcia: Fundación Universitaria San Antonio, 161– 32
 33 80. 33

34 Bauman, Z. 2000. *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 34

35 Bedarida, F. 1991. *A Social History of England 1851–1990*. 2nd Edition. London: 35
 36 Routledge. 36

37 Boorstin, D. 1964. *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*. New York: 37
 38 Harper. 38

39 Carey, J. 1999. *The Faber Book of Utopias*. London: Faber and Faber. 39

40 Casado-Díaz, M.A., Kaiser, C. and Warnes, A.M. 2004. Northern European retired 40
 41 residents in nine southern European areas: characteristics, motivations and 41
 42 adjustment. *Ageing and Society*, 24(3), 353–381. 42

43 Castles, S. and Miller, M. 2003. *The Age of Migration*. 3rd Edition. Hampshire and 43
 44 New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 44

- 1 Coleman, S. and Crang, M. 2002. *Tourism. Between Place and Performance.* 1
2 Oxford: Berghahn. 2
- 3 Franklin, A. 2003. *Tourism: An Introduction.* London: Sage. 3
- 4 Fraser, R. 1973. *The Pueblo. A Mountain Village on the Costa del Sol.* London: 4
5 Allen Lane.. 5
- 6 Giddens, A. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity.* Stanford, CA: Stanford 6
7 University Press. 7
- 8 Haldrup, M and Larsen, J 2006. Material cultures of tourism. *Leisure Studies,* 8
9 25(3), 275–89. 9
- 10 Ingold, T. 1995. Building, dwelling, living: how animals and people make 10
11 themselves at home in the world, in *Shifting Contexts*, edited by M. Strathern. 11
12 London: Routledge, 57–80. 12
- 13 Ingold, T. 2000. Making culture and weaving the world, in *Matter, Materiality* 13
14 *and Modern Culture*, edited by in P.M. Graves-Brown. London: Routledge, 14
15 50–71. 15
- 16 King, R., Warnes, T. and Williams, A. 2000. *Sunset Lives: British Retirement to* 16
17 *Southern Europe.* Oxford: Berg. 17
- 18 Latour, B. 2000. The Berlin key or how to do words with things, in *Matter,* 18
19 *Materiality and Modern Culture*, edited by in P.M. Graves-Brown. London 19
20 pp.10–21 20
- 21 MacCannell, D. 1976. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class.* New York: 21
22 Schocken. 22
- 23 Michie, J. and Sheehan, M. 2003. Labour market deregulation, ‘flexibility’ and 23
24 innovation. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 27(6), 123–43. 24
- 25 O’Reilly, K. 2007. Intra-European migration and the mobility-enclosure dialectic. 25
26 *Sociology*, 41(2), 277–93. 26
- 27 O’Reilly, K. 2005. *Ethnographic Methods.* London: Routledge. 27
- 28 O’Reilly, K. 2003. When is a tourist? the articulation of tourism and migration in 28
29 Spain’s Costa del Sol. *Tourist Studies*, 3(3), 301–17. 29
- 30 O’Reilly, K. 2000. *The British on the Costa del Sol.* London: Routledge. 30
- 31 Papastergiadis, N. 2000. *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization,* 31
32 *Deterritorialization and Hybridity.* Cambridge: Polity Press. 32
- 33 Pollert, A. 1991. *Farewell to Flexibility.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 33
- 34 Rodríguez, V., Fernández-Mayoralas, G., Casado-Díaz, M.A. and Huber A. 2005. 34
35 Una perspectiva actual de la migración internacional de jubilados en España, 35
36 in *La Migración de Europeos Retirados en España*, edited by V. Rodríguez, 36
37 M.A. Casado-Díaz and A. Huber. Madrid: CSIC, 15–46. 37
- 38 Rodríguez, V., Fernández-Mayoralas, G. and Rojo, F. 1998. European retirees 38
39 on the Costa del Sol: A cross-national comparison. *International Journal of* 39
40 *Population Geography*, 4(2), 91–111. 40
- 41 Schutz, A. 1971. The stranger: an essay in social psychology in *Alfred Schutz:* 41
42 *Collected Papers II: Studies in Social Theory*, edited by A. Broderson. The 42
43 Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 43
- 44 Svensson, P. 1989. *Your Home in Spain.* 2nd Edition. London: Longman. 44
45

1	Urry, J. 2000. <i>Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First century</i> .	1
2	London: Routledge.	2
3	Urry, J. 1990. <i>The Tourist Gaze</i> . London: Sage.	3
4	Warnes, T., King, R. and Williams, A. 2005. Migraciones a España tras la	4
5	Jubilación, in <i>La Migración de Europeos Retirados en España</i> , edited by V.	5
6	Rodríguez, M.A. Casado-Díaz and A. Huber. Madrid: CSIC, 47-68.	6
7	Williams, A. and Hall, C.M. 2002. <i>Tourism and Migration: New Relationships</i>	7
8	<i>Between Production and Consumption</i> , London: Kluwer Academic	8
9	Publishers.	9
10		10
11		11
12		12
13		13
14		14
15		15
16		16
17		17
18		18
19		19
20		20
21		21
22		22
23		23
24		24
25		25
26		26
27		27
28		28
29		29
30		30
31		31
32		32
33		33
34		34
35		35
36		36
37		37
38		38
39		39
40		40
41		41
42		42
43		43
44		44

1	Chapter 8	1
2		2
3	Mobile Practice and Youth Tourism	3
4		4
5	Dan Knox	5
6		6
7		7
8		8
9		9
10	Introduction	10
11		11
12	This chapter is concerned with the relations between everyday life and mass tourist	12
13	practice, and the ways in which mass youth tourism could be said to echo accounts	13
14	of cultural tourism as consumption of familiarity (Prentice and Andersen 2007).	14
15	The illustrative case-studies of clubbing on holiday, holiday sex and the taste of	15
16	home are about the signifying practices of those participating in clubbing holidays	16
17	to Ayia Napa in Cyprus and Faliraki on the Greek island of Rhodes. It is also about	17
18	both prior and subsequent written, visual, filmic and musical representations of	18
19	such holidays, and how the circulation of those representations fuels the continued	19
20	consumption of youth tourism products as well as the condemnation of cultural	20
21	commentators, the media and the general public. To date, the hegemonic paradigm	21
22	of tourism research has been concerned primarily with the spectacular and the	22
23	'Other' as the object and motivation of tourism behaviours (Urry 1991). This project	23
24	turns instead to look at the everyday, the banal and the familiar, and builds on earlier	24
25	work by the same author (Knox 2001, 2008) in responding to the problematization	25
26	of the distinction between the 'holiday' and the 'everyday' (Franklin and Crang	26
27	2001, Stebbins 2002). Such a conceptual move to the consideration of the quotidian	27
28	is inherently bound up with broader interests in performativity and practice seen	28
29	across the social sciences and humanities (Hannam et al. 2006, Knox 2007, 2008),	29
30	as well as in tourism research (Baerenholdt et al. 2004, Coleman and Crang 2001,	30
31	Crouch 1999, Mordue 2005). This project is concerned with the relationships and	31
32	intersections between the 'spectacle' (Baudrillard 1990, Debord 1967) and the	32
33	'banal' (Billig 1995, McKee 1997, Palmer 1998) and the processes through which	33
34	both are created and sustained.	34
35	The research on which this chapter is based was concerned to detail the	35
36	practices of clubbing tourists and the relationships of these to the rhetoric of tourism	36
37	and leisure providers in Ayia Napa and Faliraki. The research has established,	37
38	through qualitative content and discourse analyses, the most significant features	38
39	of relationships between garage music and the iconographies of youth tourism	39
40	to show that representations of the two resorts in the United Kingdom exercise a	40
41	strong regulatory power over the practices of tourists.	41
42	The central premise of the research has been to query where everyday practice	42
43	ends and holidays begin, and as such attention has been focused on the mundane	43
44	aspects of tourism. These apparently banal aspects of clubbing holidays include	44

1 practices very much like those we can observe in other mass tourism settings – 1
 2 the consumption of alcohol, lounging around the poolside, partying and dancing, 2
 3 and the eating of characteristically home-nation cuisines. The research has been 3
 4 conducted through extensive participant observation during the summers of 2003 4
 5 (Ayia Napa) and 2004 (Faliraki), content and discourse analyses and interviews 5
 6 with young British holidaymakers in both destinations. The primary data source 6
 7 was collected in a detailed research diary, recording observations, the experiences 7
 8 of participation and opportunities that being there and taking part provided for 8
 9 speaking to tourists. Participant observation was conducted primarily in the hours 9
 10 between the late afternoon and 7 am in settings such as nightclubs, bars, restaurants 10
 11 and takeaways, hotels, beaches and on the streets. The range of materials examined 11
 12 for content analysis was collected in the UK, in Greece and in Cyprus and includes 12
 13 television shows, newspaper and magazine articles, videos, music, promotional 13
 14 literature, holiday company brochures, club flyers and websites. 14

15

16

17 **UK Garage, Ayia Napa and Faliraki** 17

18

19 Since the late 1990s, Ayia Napa, a small town in the south of Cyprus, has become 19
 20 one of the key destinations for young Britons seeking clubbing and dance music 20
 21 centred holidays, as well as catering to the more mainstream mass tourist. Youth 21
 22 and clubbing tourism to Ayia Napa is particularly focused on the UK Garage sub- 22
 23 genre of electronic dance music, in contrast to both Ibiza and Goa where House and 23
 24 Trance music respectively thrive (Salahnda 2002). The Greek resort of Faliraki, 24
 25 near to Rhodes town, has similarly been repositioned as a clubbing and youth 25
 26 holiday destination over the same period of time, and there has been something of 26
 27 shift away from Ayia Napa towards Faliraki for some elements of the UK Garage 27
 28 music scene. In some regards, this geographical shift can be seen as a move away 28
 29 from a place that had become troublesome in terms of violence and policing, as 29
 30 well as an attempt to maintain the authenticity of the experience for the core of 30
 31 scene members. As ever greater numbers of non-enthusiasts began to attend the 31
 32 garage music events it was felt that something of a sense of community had been 32
 33 lost. 33

34 Some researchers (Malbon 1999, Skelton et al. 1988) have begun exploring 34
 35 the social performances of the UK club scene, and many others the politics and 35
 36 embodied experiences of dancing (see Nash 2000) but thus far very little work 36
 37 has been undertaken that examines clubbing or youth holidays abroad. Tourism 37
 38 researchers have explored the destinations and motivations of gay holidaymakers 38
 39 (Clift and Forrest 1999) and the relations between sex and tourism more generally 39
 40 (Clift and Carter 2000, Opperman 1999, Ryan and Hall 2001), while Sellers (1998) 40
 41 and Saldanha (2002) have explored the connections between tourism and clubbing, 41
 42 and in particular the practices of clubbers. The exposition of the intertwining of 42
 43 tourism, clubbing, sex and hedonism is taken further in this research by embedding 43
 44 these practices within a broader and deeper social and cultural context that takes 44

1 account not only of everyday life at home, but the totality of tourist practices 1
2 enacted. 2

3 3

4 4

5 **Tourism, Sex and Hedonism** 5

6 6

7 Surprisingly, it remains the case that there is a notable lack of research on youth 7

8 holidays both in tourist studies and in the broader social sciences. This is despite the 8

9 above noted wealth of material concerned with youth cultures, popular cultures, and 9

10 subcultures including clubbing and dancing. A principle area in which hedonism 10

11 has been explored has been in writing about adventure tourism and/or extreme 11

12 sports, with fun, sex, drugs, drink, dancing and violence attracting less attention. 12

13 There is an expansive literature on tourism and sex that has spent an inordinate 13

14 amount of time defining itself in relation to what we might, or indeed might not, 14

15 call 'sex tourism'. This literature explores the distinction between consensual/non- 15

16 consensual and commercial/non-commercial sexual behaviours but has largely 16

17 maintained a focus upon the more negative aspects of the intersections between 17

18 tourism and sex. Thus, the non-consensual and commercial practices of a variety 18

19 of modes of prostitution have been to the fore of such debates, partly as a result 19

20 of the political motivations of researchers, and partly as the result of failure to 20

21 expand analyses. Similarly, much attention has been focused on the specifics of 21

22 gay tourism as the public face of homosexuality on holiday. Gay tourism revolves 22

23 around the conscious self-identification of travellers as gay and is largely about 23

24 travel to what have come to be seen as gay destinations or gay-friendly cities such 24

25 as Amsterdam or San Francisco. This is one of the more intriguing elements of 25

26 gay tourism; the ways in which it appears to be built upon established networks 26

27 of people and so-called gay spaces or places. It is suggested that gay people are 27

28 peculiarly disadvantaged in that they only truly have the freedom to self-identify 28

29 as gay in particular places at particular times. This issue ought to be of particular 29

30 interest to all academics with an interest in tourism, as it runs somewhat counter 30

31 to more traditional arguments about the holiday being an opportunity to transcend 31

32 everyday life and identities. It could seem that gay holidaymakers are in some 32

33 sense better served than heterosexual companies in that there are noted destinations 33

34 in which aspects of homosexual sexualities are invited, welcomed and celebrated, 34

35 whereas heterosexual supposed-norms attract censure when they manifest in the 35

36 ways that they do around the Mediterranean. 36

37 37

38 38

39 **Understanding Mass Tourism** 39

40 40

41 The mass tourist is often vilified as uncultured, uncaring and undeserving. 41

42 Despoiling natural environments, producing photo-fit resorts and lacking the 42

43 interest in local cultures and traditions that would enable them to distinguish 43

44 themselves within social groups, mass tourists are seen as unthinking drones, 44

45

1 flocking to whichever resorts are most effectively marketed in their direction by 1
 2 large travel corporations. While there may be some elements of truth in these 2
 3 kinds of accounts, what I want to do here is to make a passionate plea for a deeper 3
 4 and more nuanced understanding of the behaviour of mass tourists in order to 4
 5 redress the balance. Sneering at people we do not understand is all very well, 5
 6 but sadly fails to offer a significant insight in the same way that conducting 6
 7 ethnographic research among them might. In fairness to the middle-class scholars 7
 8 and researchers of tourist studies, it is not so much that they have tended to view 8
 9 mass tourists negatively so much as they have failed to notice very much about 9
 10 them at all. Certainly, we could argue that the Spanish coastline has become 10
 11 relatively unattractive in relation to an idealized notion of pristine nature, but it 11
 12 would be a mistake to try to argue for effective environmental solutions without 12
 13 an understanding of what motivates people to continue to visit such apparently 13
 14 unattractive places. It may well be that such places have an attraction that tourist 14
 15 studies have thus far failed to grasp in any meaningful sense. 15

16 Bourdieu's (1983) account of the gathering of cultural capital by the new middle 16
 17 classes has provided some interesting conceptual material for those working within 17
 18 tourist studies to explore the creation and maintenance of distinction among elite 18
 19 cultural tourists. While notions of cultural capital apply most obviously to middle 19
 20 class social groupings, I want to argue that very similar processes relate to the 20
 21 patterns of conspicuous consumption of mass tourists. Building a tourist biography 21
 22 that takes in Prague, Rome, New York, Barcelona and Krakow, incorporating the 22
 23 Sistine Chapel, the Louvre, the Guggenheim and the Ramblas, enables the tourist 23
 24 to accrue layers of cultural capital that function either as shared experiences or 24
 25 aspirational goals for other members of their social grouping. Similarly, a lifetime 25
 26 spent visiting Faliraki, Magaluf, Ibiza, Ayia Napa and Kavos, and experiencing the 26
 27 tourist products of those places, functions as a marker of social distinction within 27
 28 the social groups of the mass tourist. Some among this group might accidentally 28
 29 find themselves on a weekend break to Prague, but will usually ensure that no 29
 30 conventional cultural capital is earned during such a visit by avoiding the galleries, 30
 31 museums and castles in favour of the Irish pubs, the English pubs and the strip 31
 32 clubs. To criticize such visitors on account of their non-participation in middle- 32
 33 class cultural tourism is to ignore the value of a more hedonistic visit to Prague 33
 34 because of an entrenched view of what kinds of tourism should be conducted 34
 35 where. 35

36 36
 37 37

38 **Liminality** 38
 39 39

40 The total range of practices that constitutes a two week vacation in Faliraki or 40
 41 Ayia Napa is entirely contained within a very neatly delineated and limited space. 41
 42 This space is the destination resort and is easily identifiable as matching the limits 42
 43 of large hotel developments, after which the countryside fades into scrubland 43
 44 and seemingly more authentic local residential properties. Not only is there no 44

1 need, there is no incentive for the average youth tourist to explore beyond these 1
 2 boundaries as all the drinking, partying, dancing, fighting and sexual opportunities 2
 3 are concentrated within the tourist resort. It is not that in different circumstances 3
 4 such tourists might not be interested in visiting other kinds of attractions, but 4
 5 merely that the kinds of holidays on which they have embarked are designed 5
 6 to facilitate lounging by the pool, drinking and attempting to sleep with similar 6
 7 members of the opposite sex. 7

8 The concept of liminality is somewhat problematic in these instances as mass 8
 9 youth tourists are not necessarily suspended between home and away in a vacuum 9
 10 of what might be termed bad behaviour by British, Greek and Cypriot societies. It 10
 11 is equally valid to argue that such visitors have very definitely arrived in Faliraki 11
 12 while leaving behind the censure of home and avoiding the censure of Greece. The 12
 13 rules and conventions of behaviour in Faliraki are not those of the territorially more 13
 14 expansive Greek nation, nor indeed those of the United Kingdom, but something 14
 15 different and contingent on the intersection of location, guests and hosts. Transient 15
 16 and mobile communities establish rules of behaviour in much the same way that 16
 17 permanent, fixed communities do, but it may be more difficult to trace out the 17
 18 ways that people adhere to these where populations are subjected to around a 90 18
 19 percent change in personnel every two weeks. 19

20 The arena for hedonism is sustained by those parts of the population that do 20
 21 not leave the islands until the end of the summer. Their ongoing behaviour serves 21
 22 to encourage newly arriving visitors in the debauchery and thrill-seeking that had 22
 23 already served as their motivation to visit. The owners and managers of venues, 23
 24 club reps, seasonal staff and local people all come together to ensure the smooth 24
 25 provision of the architectures of hedonism in an environment in which such 25
 26 apparently rule-shattering behaviour has become the norm. Once a context within 26
 27 which hedonistic behaviour has become established as ordinary and unremarkable 27
 28 practice has been instituted, such behaviour begins to look rather contrived, 28
 29 controlled and conventional. True rebelliousness within the context of Ayia Napa 29
 30 or Faliraki would require modest consumption and self-censure. In part this would 30
 31 constitute a refusal of the youth tourist resorts themselves that would negate the 31
 32 act of choosing such a destination. 32

33
 34
 35 **Scene 1: Holiday Sex** 35
 36 36

37 During my research, it became apparent that self-censure and friendship group 37
 38 censure both operated in such a way as to encourage what could be seen as 38
 39 reckless or wild behaviour. The norms and conventions of behaviour at home very 39
 40 clearly no longer apply for many people, but they need not often apply for many 40
 41 of these groups of youths at home. Most people visited the resorts in same sex 41
 42 groups ranging in size from four to ten, and sharing two or three to a room in 42
 43 large hotel complexes. In such circumstances, the practices and processes of group 43
 44 surveillance are ever-present for each individual in even the most intimate and 44

45

1 personal of circumstances. While it would not be unusual for friends sharing a room 1
 2 to both engage in sexual acts with new-found partners at the same time, consensus 2
 3 appears to be that such activity ought to be staggered in some way. Marking off 3
 4 shared spaces in this way has the effect of temporarily excluding some guests from 4
 5 their rooms while very short-term relationships are enacted. The act of separating 5
 6 out space in this way was justified by male tourists in terms not of providing 6
 7 intimacy or privacy but in terms of sparing roommates the embarrassment of being 7
 8 present at the same time and the potentially harmful effects of seeing another 8
 9 man's erect penis. Such rampant heterosexuality should not, as far as these rampant 9
 10 heterosexuals were concerned, not contain anything that might be misconstrued as 10
 11 latent homosexuality. Rachel, aged 21, from Coventry told me the following: 11

12
 13 I don't really want to have to watch the girl that I'm sharing a room with going at 13
 14 it with the bloke she picked up, especially if I haven't managed to pull someone 14
 15 myself, you know? I'll usually wait outside if she gets lucky, maybe have another 15
 16 drink, hopefully hang around with someone else until she's finished, however 16
 17 long it takes, haha (Interview 2004) 17

18
 19 As with the males, the non-participation in somebody else's intimacy appears to 19
 20 be driven by an unwillingness to be exposed to such behaviour rather than the 20
 21 need to ensure privacy for the participants. As Callum, aged 19 from Glasgow, 21
 22 put it, 'there are some things I just don't need to see, no matter how good a mate 22
 23 someone is'. The hotel room acts as the provision of a space in which to have sex 23
 24 with recent acquaintances, where such a space is not available at home, has been 24
 25 recognized as an important part of the relationships between sex and tourism. It 25
 26 is not necessarily that people are engaging in more sexual acts during each night 26
 27 out than they would at home, but rather that the acts themselves are different in 27
 28 terms of duration and location. The sharing of a hotel room merely acts as a minor 28
 29 obstacle, but ordinarily an obstacle that is somewhat easier to overcome than the 29
 30 sharing of a family home with parents. 30

31 31

32 32

33 **Scene 2: Clubbing on Holiday** 33

34 34

35 Garage music in the UK underwent various transformations from the late 1990s 35
 36 to emerge in the early twentieth century as a distinctively British form of music 36
 37 concerned with (sub)urban life in the United Kingdom. The musical forms of 37
 38 Garage are diverse though some of the key elements that can be pointed to include 38
 39 the rhythms of drum and bass and two-step, and the vocal styles of Hip Hop, 39
 40 Ragga and contemporary American R n' B. Tied in with this content and these 40
 41 styles, Garage music has an association with violence and danger, and a reputation 41
 42 for the perpetuation of the *gangster* image as imported most recently from US Hip 42
 43 Hop. The crucial characteristics of a *gangster* image are violence, misogyny and 43

44 44

1 criminality. UK Garage is a global form, but a global form with highly localized 1
2 roots in the United Kingdom. 2

3 In addition to British roots, the UK Garage scene has a particular and established 3
4 summer holiday destination in Ayia Napa. There is a blurring here between the 4
5 everyday and the holiday in that large sections of a UK community remove 5
6 themselves temporarily from home and reconvene as a community in a location 6
7 in Cyprus to continue, indeed to intensify, the activities they partake of together 7
8 at home. Indeed, it is as if the community itself only truly comes together each 8
9 summer in Ayia Napa, in a way that is not possible within the United Kingdom, 9
10 to stage club nights, attend parties and perform. Ayia Napa has become a focal 10
11 point for an imagined community and a symbolically important space for the UK 11
12 Garage community. A two-week holiday in Ayia Napa serves a purpose similar 12
13 to that of a national festival or ceremony in maintaining a community of interest, 13
14 and thus a distinction between the everyday and the not-so-everyday is retained. 14
15 Quotidian domestic practice and experience can be seen to be preparing individual 15
16 holiday makers for the experiences of a clubbing holiday to Ayia Napa that is not 16
17 necessarily terribly different, other than in terms of location, to a weekend night 17
18 out at home. Despite, in some sense, being rooted in Ayia Napa, these discourses 18
19 and practices are both preceded and succeeded by similar practices in other spaces 19
20 and at other times. Popular culture here is both mobile and international, with Ayia 20
21 Napa being merely one node in a cultural network. 21

22 As Angus, a 23 year old from Newcastle, told me: 22

23 23
24 I have bought some of the Ayia Napa compilations, they're pretty commercial, 24
25 but they sum up some of the scene here and at home. We've brought some of 25
26 them with us to listen to on the beach and in the hotel - they're cool. We listened 26
27 to them at home before we came here ... and you do hear the same tunes, MCs, 27
28 beats, whatever.... 28

29 29
30 The range and duration of drinking and clubbing opportunities offered to British 30
31 tourists in Rhodes or Cyprus, combined with the context of being on holiday with 31
32 a group of friends, provides numerous opportunities for the excessive consumption 32
33 of alcohol, or drugs, to dance, to consume UK dance music, and to dance with 33
34 other holidaying Britons. Despite the vaguely exotic setting, much about the 34
35 clubbing scenes of Faliraki and Ayia Napa will be familiar to those acquainted 35
36 with the British club scene, and more so for those with previous experiences of 36
37 either the same resorts or of Ibiza. Indeed, the similarities to home are far more 37
38 striking than the differences raising questions about the extent to which two weeks 38
39 in either resort might realistically count as an escape from anything at all – it could 39
40 in fact be argued that one of the worst things that you could do if seeking to escape 40
41 home would be to take a holiday in a place that is likely to be frequented by many 41
42 people from home, will feature club promotions and parties staged by UK clubs or 42
43 DJs, include performances by UK-based DJs and MCs and enable repeat hearings 43
44 of tunes, beats and samples familiar from home. Michelle, 26, from London told 44

45

1 stated that: 'So many things here are just like at home, so it's kinda just a big UK 1
 2 Garage party in Greece, it doesn't matter that we are in Greece, we could be in 2
 3 London, we could be anywhere'. 3

4 The degree to which similarities exist is partially contingent on the individual 4
 5 and visitors can be broadly divided into two groups. The first group, for whom 5
 6 the continuity with home is greatest, includes performers and active members 6
 7 of a UK Garage scene, while the second category includes all other people with 7
 8 perhaps only a passing interest in that specific sub-genre of dance music or more 8
 9 general hedonists simply looking for a good time. For the self-identified members 9
 10 of a UK Garage community, it is likely that not only are some of the promoters 10
 11 and performers already well-known to them, but also that they are familiar with 11
 12 others they find themselves dancing and drinking with in the clubs and bars. The 12
 13 more casual consumers, however, are not operating in an unknown world in that 13
 14 most of the practices of clubbing are very much the same as they would have 14
 15 experienced at home. For example, foam parties may not be weekly events in the 15
 16 United Kingdom, but they are far from unknown – all being in a Mediterranean 16
 17 holiday resort contributes is the possibility to attend such an event everyday or 17
 18 every second day. The co-presence of unknown fellow clubbers is, again, not 18
 19 unlike attending nightclubs in the UK in that even where people are strangers, a 19
 20 generally friendly atmosphere is maintained, with temporary friendships readily 20
 21 formed as a part of a shared experience. All that is required for the process of 21
 22 bonding with new friends is the shared interest in the music, the hedonism or the 22
 23 subculture, and this is readily evidenced by simply being there. 23

24

25

26 **Scene 3: The Taste of Home** 26

27

28 The shared experience and the shared backgrounds of people on clubbing 28
 29 holidays to Mediterranean resorts is strengthened by their use of a shared tourist 29
 30 infrastructure during the hours when they are not participating in dancing or 30
 31 drinking. A visit to the convenience stores catering to tourists in either Faliraki 31
 32 or Ayia Napa provides the British tourist with any number of comforting and 32
 33 reassuring brands and products. Naturally, truly global brands such as Coca-Cola 33
 34 or Budweiser are widely available, but in these spaces of mass tourist consumption 34
 35 are offered alongside imported Cadbury's chocolate, Golden Wonder crisps, 35
 36 Walker's shortbread, Kingsmill bread, Daddies sauce, Tetley teabags and so on. 36
 37 The provision of such authentically British foodstuffs admittedly does some work 37
 38 in terms of de-exoticizing Greece or Cyprus, reassuring tourists that they have not 38
 39 strayed too far away from home. To criticize tourists, however, for consumption of 39
 40 such homely products would be to misunderstand why they have visited Faliraki 40
 41 or Greece by viewing such encounters from the perspective of somebody with 41
 42 a different set of motivations. Youth tourist holidays are not about experiencing 42
 43 apparently unspoiled authentic cultures or attempting to go native in Greece or 43
 44 Cyprus, but rather about the opportunity to have more fun in a short space of 44

1 time than might be possible at home. If British seaside resorts were as reliably 1
 2 warm as Cyprus or Rhodes, a proportion of the resorts on those islands would be 2
 3 conducted in Brighton, Whitley Bay or Margate instead. Thus, the act of sitting in 3
 4 a bar in Ayia Napa and ordering a full English breakfast, or some approximation 4
 5 of such, should not be seen as a failure to grasp the essential nature of Greek- 5
 6 Cypriot culture nor necessarily an act of conservatism intended to protect the 6
 7 tourist from the dangers of local cuisine. Neither, however, should it be read as 7
 8 an act of resistance against the mores of middle class cultural tourism or as a 8
 9 manifestation of common-sense in the face of increasingly difficult-to-sustain 9
 10 notions of tourist authenticity. Rather, such a consumptive act, undertaken in an 10
 11 English or Scottish or Welsh-themed bar, is partially about an assertion of national 11
 12 identity, but largely about the association of greasy bacon, eggs and sausages with 12
 13 heavy alcohol consumption in popular understanding: a large fried breakfast is 13
 14 widely-considered to have restorative effects on the hangover body as well as 14
 15 being seen to prepare the stomach for further alcohol consumption. Indeed, in 15
 16 many cases, the eating of such a all-day breakfast is often accompanied with the 16
 17 drinking of the first beer of the next day. 17

18 The taking up of the opportunity to eat a roast dinner, drink a pint of British 18
 19 beer and watch Eastenders on satellite television is as much a manifestation of 19
 20 disappointment with Britain itself as it is with Greece or Cyprus. Rampaging, or 20
 21 otherwise, 'Brits on the Piss' would not be found littered around the shores of the 21
 22 Mediterranean in such numbers if the UK offered the same likelihood of exposure 22
 23 to the shining sun. However, where there is a specific interest in a particular 23
 24 social subcultural scene, the motivation to locate temporarily in these resorts is 24
 25 more complex, although we would be hard pushed to understand this from media 25
 26 representations that fail to differentiate groups of youth tourists. 26

27 27
 28 28

29 Representations of Youth Tourism 29

30 30

31 Ibiza, Ayia Napa, Sodom and Gomorrah: they are mere monasteries, we are told, 31
 32 compared to the organized bonk and boozathon that is Faliraki, where drunken 32
 33 damsels from the home counties are said to roll in the street and beg for sex from 33
 34 men rampaging in togas. (interview with Gerard 2003) 34

35 35

36 The summer of 2003 saw an elevated interest in the behaviour of British tourists 36
 37 abroad, both in the United Kingdom and in the tourist receiving countries of the 37
 38 Mediterranean. The above quote from a *Sunday Times* article is illustrative of the 38
 39 tone and content of much domestic British coverage of violence on the streets of 39
 40 Ayia Napa, the hedonistic behaviour of British tourists in Faliraki and the apparent 40
 41 moral decline of the nation. The most remarkable story of that summer was that of 41
 42 the Club 18-30 representatives alleged to have staged a live sex-show on a beach 42
 43 in Corfu, Greece – a story that led me to wonder why I was located in Faliraki 43
 44 that summer when the action was clearly elsewhere! Stories such as these provoke 44

45

1 outrage and horror among elements of the British press and confirm the worst 1
 2 fears of those that imagine Club 18-30 and youth holidays more generally to be 2
 3 orchestrated and alcohol-fuelled holidays with sex as a part of the product. For 3
 4 others, the events on the beach in Corfu and the video recording said to exist of 4
 5 them have become an element of the mythology of the youth holiday. While it 5
 6 is doubtful that any surviving video of club representatives engaged in sex acts 6
 7 on Greek beaches is in wide circulation, it is certainly the case that at least one 7
 8 pornographic film has been inspired by the episode. The film *Filthy Club Reps* 8
 9 (2002) draws on a fantasy in which the holiday company employee exists to 9
 10 provide direct sexual gratification. Indeed, the very existence of such a film realizes 10
 11 some of the expectation that emerged from the popular ITV series *Club Reps*, not 11
 12 least in the sense that two of the stars of this low-budget pornographic film had 12
 13 first come to public attention as a part of that television series. TV series such as 13
 14 *Club Reps* and *Fantasy Island* (recorded in Ayia Napa) help to glamourize at the 14
 15 same time as normalizing aspects of typical British youth tourist behaviour in the 15
 16 Mediterranean. Such representations work to close off a symbolizing loop within 16
 17 which those previously having such experiences can reminisce while preparing 17
 18 for their next such holiday, those seeking such gratification can gain an insight or 18
 19 heighten their desire, and those who may be watching merely for entertainment 19
 20 or voyeuristic purposes may find themselves suddenly enriched by a host of new 20
 21 desires. 21

22 A browse along the shelves of second hand record shops, or CD stalls at car 22
 23 boot sales, will reveal to the casual consumer the prevalence of compilation CDs 23
 24 incorporating the words 'Ayia Napa' into their titles during the early years of the 24
 25 twenty first century. A more long-standing tradition is the even greater volume of 25
 26 similar CDs and DVDs concerned with clubbing holidays to Ibiza. These artefacts 26
 27 function alongside the television programmes and the specialist dance music 27
 28 press to motivate visits and to prepare the visitor for their holiday. The CDs and 28
 29 magazines orient attendance at particular clubs or venues, familiarize people with 29
 30 the DJs and tunes they can expect to encounter, and generally work to reinforce a 30
 31 sense of participation in a vibrant and desirable popular cultural form. All of these 31
 32 opportunities to consume aspects of a Mediterranean clubbing holiday before 32
 33 and after the event itself strengthen both the motivation and satisfaction of the 33
 34 consumer, and provide them with cultural capital with which to attempt to present 34
 35 themselves as knowledgeable insiders before, during and after the holiday itself. 35

36 36
 37 37

38 **Popular Cultural Tourism as Serious Leisure** 38

39 39

40 As the above has shown, the embodied experiences of clubbing holidays do not 40
 41 simply emerge afresh for a fortnight each summer, but are inherently related to 41
 42 everyday practices at home. Clubbing holidays, including those to Ayia Napa, 42
 43 reflect the sorts of practices that Stebbins (1996, 2001) is referring to when he writes 43
 44 about enthusiasts participating in 'Serious Leisure'. Each year, large numbers of 44

1 newspaper and magazine features, cover mounted compact discs, television shows 1
 2 and a glut of themed compilation albums create particularized notions of Ayia 2
 3 Napa as a holiday destination, a haven for clubbers and a hedonistic retreat, as 3
 4 well as reinforcing the strong association with garage music. The knowledges tied 4
 5 up in artefacts that represent Ayia Napa are crucial to a critical understanding of 5
 6 tourism in the resort. The constant stream of material about Ayia Napa has enabled 6
 7 the place to stand as a powerful metonym for the clubbing or youth holiday, 7
 8 encouraging more and more people to visit the town. Such banality is only achieved 8
 9 through constant restatement and reassertion such that the activity is entirely 9
 10 commonplace, something which often fails in the tourist context within which the 10
 11 notion of gazing on difference (Urry 1991) remains an important motivating factor. 11
 12 Stebbins's (1992) serious leisure thesis and ideas concerning the consumption of 12
 13 the familiar (Prentice and Andersen 2003) suggest that tourist consumption and 13
 14 behaviour should not be separated out from more general life experiences and 14
 15 everyday practice. Serious leisure is about the processes of identity creation and 15
 16 an extension of general leisure patterns indulged in at home, such that the holiday 16
 17 becomes not so much a break in activity as a short period of increased activity. 17
 18 Tourist behaviour is seen by Stebbins (1996) as a 'career-like' pursuit in that it is 18
 19 lifelong and is about the collecting of experiences as well as, more importantly, 19
 20 being about the (re)performance of identity and the construction of a biography. 20
 21 Thus, helpful to us here is the notion of the banal in that it expresses all of the flow 21
 22 of everyday and commonplace activities and occurrences that are neither highly 22
 23 dramatic nor unusual (Billig 1995, Palmer 1998). 23
 24 The performance of public rituals, and the symbolic work involved in such 24
 25 performances, identifies both performers and spectators as either insiders or 25
 26 outsiders of a particular culture, society or milieu. Analyses of this kind have 26
 27 thus far in tourist studies been limited to considerations of middle-class, highly- 27
 28 educated and relatively affluent cultural tourists. This analysis seeks to incorporate 28
 29 some of the insights from these previous studies in an exploration of working class 29
 30 mass tourist cultures. A note of caution, however, is important here as UK Garage 30
 31 and dance music scenes more generally are largely independent of class identities, 31
 32 but dominated by working class youths whether self-identified or otherwise. The 32
 33 accumulation of cultural capital should be recognized as contingent and variable 33
 34 according to the characteristics of the persons seeking such wealth and those of 34
 35 their social groupings. As discussed above, the participants in youth holidays are 35
 36 gathering valuable experiences that have an exchange value within their friendship 36
 37 and wider peer groups, they are participating in a career-like pursuit and, in some 37
 38 cases, have a deeply-felt and dearly-held attachment to a subcultural scene and 38
 39 the practices surrounding it. These are the same kinds of attributions of affection 39
 40 that have been proposed as an explanation for more obviously elitist forms of 40
 41 cultural tourism, demonstrating that youth clubbing holidays are as *serious* as 41
 42 any other form of tourism. Two weeks of taking part in activities and consuming 42
 43 commodities familiar from home thus represents a speeding up of signification 43
 44 44
 45

1 rather than the dramatic exotic break that tourist studies has historically concerned 1
2 itself with. 2

3 3

4 4

5 **Conclusions: The Unremarkable Holiday** 5

6 6

7 The above discussion has demonstrated that there are many ways in which a youth 7
8 holiday with an important clubbing element is simply like a fortnight of Friday and 8
9 Saturday nights at home. It is not dramatically different, but it could be seen to be 9
10 a spectacular manifestation of the everyday or every week banal in which people 10
11 engage at home with often the same friends, in the same sorts of venues, listening 11
12 to the same kinds of music, consuming the same sorts of drugs and having sex with 12
13 very similar types of people. The representations consumed in advance heighten 13
14 the sense of expectation and also the sense that such expectation has been realized 14
15 during the vacation. The more spectacular manifestation simply reasserts the 15
16 banal, reasserting the importance of the leisure pursuits of home for the serious 16
17 tourist. While it is doubtful that serious is necessarily the right word, it is clearly 17
18 the case that the youth tourist could be described as committed and as a cultural 18
19 insider, accruing cultural capital for public display among other members of dance 19
20 music communities and among other groups of youths with similar interests. It is 20
21 likely that the re-siting in Greece or Cyprus is less important than the recitation 21
22 of the rhetoric of UK Garage music through the set of practices that attach to the 22
23 subculture. Ultimately, while there is much work still to be done on youth cultures, 23
24 we should not be surprised or shocked that people like to go on holiday and do the 24
25 things that they like to do at home. Equally, we should not be surprised that British 25
26 youths behave in the Mediterranean in much the same way as they do on UK High 26
27 Streets each weekend. 27

28 28

29 29

30 **References:** 30

31 31

32 Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined Communities*. Verso: London. 32

33 Baehrenholdt, J.O., Hadrup M., Larsen J., and Urry, J. 2004. *Performing Tourist* 33
34 *Places*. Aldershot: Ashgate. 34

35 Baudrillard, J. 1990. *Fatal Strategies*. New York: Semiotext(e). 35

36 Billig, M. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. Sage: London 36

37 Clift, S and Carter, S. 2000. *Tourism and Sex: Culture, Commerce and Coercion*. 37
38 Continuum: London. 38

39 Clift, S. and Forrest, S. 1999. Gay men and tourism: destinations and holiday 39
40 motivations. *Tourism Management*, 20(5), 615–25. 40

41 Coleman, S. and Crang, M. 2001. *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*. 41
42 Berghahn: London. 42

43 Crouch, D. 1999. *Leisure/tourism Geographies: Practices and Geographical* 43
44 *Knowledges*. Routledge: London. 44

- 1 Debord, G. 1967. *The Society of the Spectacle*. Zone Books: London. 1
- 2 Franklin, A. and Crang, M. 2001. The trouble with tourism and travel theory. 2
- 3 *Tourist Studies*, 1(1), 5–23. 3
- 4 Knox, D. 2001. Doing the Doric: the institutionalization of regional language and 4
- 5 culture in north-eastern Scotland. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 2(3), 315– 5
- 6 31. 6
- 7 Knox, D. 2008. Spectacular tradition: Scottish folk song and authenticity *Annals* 7
- 8 *of Tourism Research*, 35(1), 255–73. 8
- 9 Latour, B. 1994. *We Have Never Been Modern*. Harvard: University Press. 9
- 10 Malbon, B. 1999. *Clubbing: Dancing, Ecstasy and Vitality*. Routledge: London. 10
- 11 McKee, A. 1997. The aboriginal version of Ken Done: Banal Aboriginal Identities 11
- 12 in Australia. *Cultural Studies*, 11(2), 191–206. 12
- 13 Mordue, T. 2005. Tourism, performance and social exclusion in ‘Olde York’. 13
- 14 *Annals of Tourism Research* 32(1), 179–98. 14
- 15 Nash, C. 2000. Performativity in practice: some recent work in cultural geography. 15
- 16 *Progress in Human Geography*, 24(4), 653–64. 16
- 17 Opperman, M. 1999. Sex tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(2), 251–66. 17
- 18 Palmer, C. 1998. From theory to practice: experiencing the nation in everyday 18
- 19 Life. *Journal of Material Culture*, 3(2) 175–99. 19
- 20 Prentice, R. and Andersen, V. 2007. Interpreting heritage essentialisms: familiarity 20
- 21 and felt history. *Tourism Management*, 28(3), 661–76. 21
- 22 Ryan, C. and Hall, C. 2001. *Sex Tourism: Marginal People and Liminalities*. 22
- 23 Routledge: London. 23
- 24 Salandha, A. 2002. Music tourism and factions of bodies in Goa. *Tourist Studies*, 24
- 25 2(1), 43–62. 25
- 26 Sellars, A. 1998. The influence of dance music on the UK youth tourism market. 26
- 27 *Tourism Management*, 19(6), 611–15. 27
- 28 Skelton, T., Valentine, G. and Chambers, D. 1998. *Cool Places: Geographies of* 28
- 29 *Youth Cultures*. Routledge: London. 29
- 30 Stebbins, R.A. 1996. Cultural tourism as serious leisure. *Annals of Tourism* 30
- 31 *Research*, 23(4), 948–50. 31
- 32 Stebbins, R.A. 2001. Serious leisure. *Society*, 38, 53–7. 32
- 33 Urry, J. 1991. *The Tourist Gaze*. Sage: London. 33
- 34 34
- 35 35
- 36 36
- 37 37
- 38 38
- 39 39
- 40 40
- 41 41
- 42 42
- 43 43
- 44 44
- 45 45

Proof Copy

1	Chapter 9	1
2		2
3	Corrupted Seas: the Mediterranean in the	3
4		4
5	Age of Mass Mobility	5
6		6
7	Pau Obrador-Pons, Mike Crang and Penny Travlou	7
8		8
9		9
10		10
11		11
12	As we noted in the introduction we have chosen to produce a book about 12	12
13	<i>Mediterranean</i> mass tourism. Not just mass tourism that happens to take place in 13	13
14	the Mediterranean, but the Mediterranean variety and inflection of mass tourism. 14	14
15	With this choice we wanted to emphasize the fact that (even) mass tourism 15	15
16	has histories and geographies. Moreover, the space of tourism has often been 16	16
17	methodologically fragmented and marginalized as a side effect of two trends in 17	17
18	research. First, research on tourism practices (as in many chapters in this volume) 18	18
19	has often proceeded empirically through case studies of single destinations. Partly, 19	19
20	this may be down to the logistics and funding of research, partly the difficulties 20	20
21	of comparative work. Second, the space of tourism has been marginal both in 21	21
22	academia conceptually but also on the ground – where resorts are often at the end 22	22
23	of the line, and the edge of territories. Thus recent assessments on regeneration 23	23
24	and decline in British resorts point to transport and communication links leaving 24	24
25	them marginalized (Communities and Local Government Committee 2007), while 25	25
26	for many traditions of area studies tourism areas are equally on the edge of the 26	26
27	territory and the fading edge of the culture. This scale and focus is a variant of 27	27
28	a methodological nationalism that is by no means confined to work on tourism. 28	28
29	Indeed, in historiography it has often seemed that history only occurs at the scale 29	29
30	of the nation state (Bentley 1999).	30
31	However, we also want to outline some cautions on the imagining of the 31	31
32	Mediterranean. The anthropology of Mediterranean studies has all too often given 32	32
33	a homogeneity to the region, indeed we might say defined the region through key 33	33
34	attributes such as cultures of ‘honour’ and ‘shame’ (Albera 2006) and notions of 34	34
35	cultural survivalism, where the antique survives into modernity (Mitchell 2002). 35	35
36	Critics have argued with some force and justification that while Braudel and 36	36
37	others have argued for the Mediterranean as ‘an ecological unit’, anthropology 37	37
38	has seen it as a culture area characterized by the presence of codes of honour 38	38
39	and shame in gender relations of a hierarchical nature and in so doing end up 39	39
40	opposing the primitivism of the Mediterranean with the modernity of Europe (see 40	40
41	examples in Albera 2006: 116). As such a regionalist anthropology has colluded 41	41
42	with a literary trope that portrays the Mediterranean through a limited range of 42	42
43	generally cultural stereotypes of its people (Shore 1995) and a <i>geohistoire</i> has 43	43
44	spoken to a region grounded in climate and agriculture – which themselves ascribe 44	44

1 a different temporality to the region. Indeed geography has long learnt to be wary 1
 2 of models of cultural areas that all too often suppress heterogeneity, internal 2
 3 conflicts between subcultures and tend to be founded on models of rustic society 3
 4 (Crang 1998: 21). Where tourism is addressed at all it is as a problem, for people, 4
 5 places and research, not as one of the engines forging a Mediterranean regional 5
 6 identity. So we begin by asking what it is that a Mediterranean focus offers, first in 6
 7 terms of destablizing the usual categories of nation and place by focusing upon a 7
 8 maritime imaginary like Homer's wine dark sea, second by looking at the analytic 8
 9 risks and commercial uses of fixing and exoticizing the Mediterranean, and then, 9
 10 third, asking how mass tourism is refracted through Mediterranean practices 10
 11 and imaginations and the diversity of outcomes now emerging creating many 11
 12 Mediterraneans and many mass tourisms. 12

13

14

15 **Thinking Fluidity through the Wine Dark Sea** 15

16

17 There have been attempts to refocus that vision, using oceanic links and flows 17
 18 as ways of rescaling our account and thinking of the emergence of relational 18
 19 capacities in places. Thus we have accounts of the maritime communities of the 19
 20 eighteenth century Atlantic circulating politics and radical ideas (Linebaugh and 20
 21 Rediker 2000) and the gross circulation of people, commodities and cultures 21
 22 (Gilroy 1993). Indeed we can find a counter tradition that points precisely to the 22
 23 maritime spaces of the globe and networks of linkage – often around trade be they 23
 24 the Indian Ocean trades or the colonial Pacific. If we look hard enough we can 24
 25 even find Hegel proclaiming it the 'axis of world history..... We cannot conceive 25
 26 of the historical process without the central and unifying element of the sea' (1975: 26
 27 171-2 cited in Cooke 1999: 291). The use of ocean links and flows is not limited 27
 28 to academic writing; it also pervades popular accounts of the Mediterranean, from 28
 29 poetry to television to popular music. Thus Catalan singers such as Joan Manuel 29
 30 Serrat, Lluís Llach and Maria del Mar Bonet have made frequent use of these 30
 31 metaphors to articulate a relational vision of the Mediterranean as a crossroad of 31
 32 cultures, peoples and civilization. One of the most accomplished examples is Lluís 32
 33 LLach's *Un Pont de Mar Blava* (a Bridge of Blue Sea) a utopian vision of the 33
 34 Mediterranean that sketches a shared history told as a respect for difference and 34
 35 the cross fertilization of cultures. 35

36 This sort of fluid history then is the invocation of not so much, or only, of a 36
 37 specific geographical space around the Mediterranean sea itself but the much broader 37
 38 sense given by David Abulafia of a middle sea as a condition and way of relating 38
 39 between places, where parallels have been called the Euro-Arab Mediterranean, 39
 40 American Mediterranean (Gulf of Mexico), Northern Mediterranean (Baltic Sea) 40
 41 and Japanese Mediterranean (Abulafia 2005). The Mediterranean becomes template 41
 42 for seeing the world of networks, relations and flows through trade and exchange. 42
 43 In that sense our choice of maritime centred region echoes understandings that 43
 44 'places should be seen as like ships that can move around within various human and 44

1 material webs. So places can be “dislocated” since images, thoughts, photographs 1
 2 or memories are on the move, by means of technologies and the moving flows 2
 3 of people’ (Mavrič and Urry ~~forthcoming~~ 2009). We appeal to a vision of the 3
 4 fluid centred geography to highlight the unstable fabrication of a tourist space. 4
 5 Our centring on a ‘thalassological’ region (Horden and Purcell 2006) emphasizes 5
 6 fluidity, flows and transformation rather than fixed identities and fixed destinations. 6
 7 We might not go so far as Hegel and say that the sea ‘gives us an impression of 7
 8 limitlessness and infinity, and when man feels himself part of this infinity, he is 8
 9 emboldened to step beyond his narrow existence ... Land ... binds man to the soil; 9
 10 consequently a whole series of ties attaches him to the locality he lives in’ nor to 10
 11 dichotomize as he does ‘the stability of the inland regions and the roving character 11
 12 of coastal life with all its contingencies’ (1975: 160, 162 cited in Cooke 1999: 12
 13 295). But the focus on the shifting ocean does seem to open out a sense of the 13
 14 experimental, the contingent, the transient, the mixed and changing – that also to a 14
 15 greater or lesser extent clearly mark the socialities and experiences of tourism. 15

16

17

18 **The Uses of the Mediterranean**

19

20 Set against this fluid imaginary is the tendency to think of the Mediterranean 20
 21 precisely as a space apart – and indeed a time apart. This essentializing view of 21
 22 it as a unit, marked by specific cultures, temperaments and habits, ~~which comes~~ 22
 23 through in much of Braudel’s work and certainly that of his followers. Braudel, 23
 24 for all his brilliance carves out the ‘true Mediterranean’, bounded by blocks of 24
 25 territory like the Sahara or opposing the Atlantic so that he focuses upon not 25
 26 fluidity but the : 26

27

28 local, permanent, unchanging and much repeated features which are the 28
 29 ‘constants’ of Mediterranean history.... All Western writers who have 29
 30 at some time in their lives encountered the Mediterranean have been 30
 31 struck with its historical or rather timeless character. Like Audisio and 31
 32 Durrell, I believe that antiquity lives on round today’s Mediterranean 32
 33 shores (Braudel 1972: 1239 cited in Cooke 1999: 291-2). 33

34

35 His true Mediterranean is precisely delimited from Spain below Catalonia, 35
 36 France through Provence, across Tuscany to Trieste and down the Aegean, and 36
 37 on the southern littoral extending to the palm grove line. Indeed Braudel links the 37
 38 Mediterranean culture to both climate and soil where ‘man [sic] gains his daily 38
 39 bread by painful effort. Great tracts of land remain uncultivated and of little use... 39
 40 the soil ... is responsible for the poverty in inflicts on people, with its infertile 40
 41 limestone ... [and] the desert lies in wait for arable land’ (Braudel 1995: 241-2). 41

42

43 In finding an essence to the region he is not alone but stands in dubious company. 43

44 The appeal to and the appeal of the climate as some unifying bond have lurked at 44

45

1 the heart of pleasure seekers, and designation of the Mediterranean as a pleasure 1
2 periphery to northern Europe. How else should we respond to the great traveller 2
3 Richard Burton and his locating of 'sotadic zone' of sexual perversion she 3
4 argues is 'geographical and climatic, not racial' and found in a region bounded 4
5 westwards by the northern shores of the Mediterranean (N. Lat. 43 degrees) 5
6 and by the southern (N. Lat. 30 degrees), with a depth of 780 to 800 miles 6
7 including meridional France, the Iberian peninsula, Italy and Greece, with the 7
8 coast-regions of Africa from Morocco to Egypt. This forms a centre of gravity 8
9 from which desires spread out threatening surrounding areas (Phillips 1999: 74). 9
10 It is here he says 10
11 11
12 the Vice is popular and endemic, held at the worst to be a mere peccadillo, 12
13 whilst the races to the North and South of the limits here defined practise it only 13
14 sporadically amid the opprobrium of their fellows who, as a rule, are physically 14
15 incapable of performing the operation and look upon it with the liveliest disgust 15
16 (Burton 1885, *The Arabian Nights*, *Terminal Note section D*, 207 cited in Phillips 16
17 1999: 75) 17
18 18
19 Here is the flipside to the romantic celebration of the Mediterranean character – the 19
20 regions positioning as ludic space, for visceral experience and social vices, which 20
21 is still invoked in the marketing of destinations like Mykonos as gay resorts (Waite 21
22 and Markwell 2006: 73 and 118). If such then are the characterizations made of 22
23 the Mediterranean then they point to the history of travel cultures as attracted 23
24 by freedoms, by different and dangerous mores associated with the region. As 24
25 such they point to not characteristics of the people or place but its creation and 25
26 performance through repeated tropes and discourses. 26
27 Michael Herzfeld (2005) has long criticized the essentialisms of 27
28 *Mediterraneanism* where a danger of circular argument, moves from *the* 28
29 *Mediterranean* as a single and distinctive region or to its particular exemplifications 29
30 in specific characteristics (typically cultures of honour, shame or machismo) and 30
31 back again. Here we take rather his point that it is not some referential truth but 31
32 the use of the term that makes the category valid and interesting (2005: 49-50), 32
33 and its use is especially marked in tourism, to articulate a type of destination and 33
34 type of holiday experience. The Mediterranean is performative in every sense. It is 34
35 less about shared traits than the play of claims and knowledges about those shared 35
36 traits. In that sense we are offering a rhapsodic Mediterranean that ~~responds and~~ 36
37 ~~echoes to the imaginations and desires~~ expressed but ~~our~~ 'rhapsodic celebration is 37
38 a celebration only of discourse about, or imagery of, the Mediterranean' (Horden 38
39 2005: 29). But it is more than that, for we do look to the commonalities articulated 39
40 occasioned and created through that imaginary. As Inglis (2000: 124) notes, 40
41 although artists like Cezanne popularized the scenery, it was a guidebook that first 41
42 coined the phrase 'Côte d'Azur' in 1887, painting the landscape with a new brush 42
43 in so doing. 43
44 44

1 So we do not see the 'timeless realities' as Braudel might but we do have to 1
 2 reckon with the 'Mediterranean as a unit, with its creative space' and connections 2
 3 through the sea. And for us this must be the 'greater Mediterranean' where Braudel 3
 4 speaks of its cultural filiations and trading connections. We must within the space 4
 5 of Mediterranean tourism include the origins of the tourists in predominantly 5
 6 northern Europe. It must also speak to the oppositions carved by *geohistoire* 6
 7 against the (*empty*) Sahara, Arabia and the Northern continent. There is then a risk 7
 8 of artificially accentuating the contrasts of say of Northern and Southern Europe 8
 9 (Albera 2006: 117). Moreover we must think of this reflexively to ask what work 9
 10 then the notion of an actual Mediterranean region does (Herzfeld 2005). In this 10
 11 context one avenue for us are its historical geographic connotations. First, is its 11
 12 position as defining both the border of a fortress Europe but also its expansive 12
 13 frontier and contact zone in the shared and turbulent history of Occident and 13
 14 Orient. Second, is its location as the origin of western civilization, and the shared 14
 15 history of the bearers of that civilization (principally the Romans) through classical 15
 16 legacies, ruins and their subsequent visitation. 16

17 First then, it serves politically to also point to the Mediterranean space as 17
 18 bridging the geopolitical divides of Europe and Africa, the West and the Near East. 18
 19 In this sense it dislocates a notion of a cultural divide say at the Straits of Gibraltar, 19
 20 reminding us that different historic visions of identities and regions have crossed 20
 21 this divide (Boer et al.: 1995) and that if there was once a rationale for such a 21
 22 divide, then the flows of tourism suggest otherwise nowadays. In the words of the 22
 23 Multiplicity.lab the Mediterranean has become a solid sea of new proliferating 23
 24 connections and entanglements. There are the flows of migrant work, some to 24
 25 sustain and support tourist development that destabilize notions of traditional 25
 26 'Mediterranean' national cultures with new migrant service classes in countries 26
 27 unused to immigration (Lazaridis and Wickens 1999). So one can trace routes 27
 28 around the tourist industry, that lead in surprising directions, with circular flows 28
 29 of workers and cultures, artefacts and symbols across the sea (Jacquemet 1999). 29
 30 Indeed tourism is also one way to speak through the colonial and postcolonial 30
 31 entanglements of an industry that was once used to educate Europeans about 31
 32 colonial possessions, as part of a *mission civilisatrice* (Hazbun 2008: 5) indeed 32
 33 was a form of possession through touristic practice reducing the African littoral to 33
 34 the timeless and scenic to be pictured (Gregory 2001, 2003). 34

35 Alternately the myth of Mediterraneanism conjured by Albert Camus was 35
 36 designed to offer a bridge of shared history for colonizer and colonized by 36
 37 mobilizing the notion of shared region, '*la culture vivante*', openness to mixture 37
 38 and the classical legacy (Davison 2000). The hierarchy of values that the space of 38
 39 the Mediterranean conjures up (Herzfeld 2005) are then polysemous and steeped 39
 40 in contested histories – that speak through changing cultures of travel. Perhaps this 40
 41 comes together well in Tunisia where the undress of beach tourism and alcohol 41
 42 consumption were regarded as culturally inappropriate by many and 'mass beach 42
 43 tourism oriented to European desires proved an especially ripe target for Islamist 43
 44 tracts against westernizing and secularizing government policies and social trends 44

45

1 towards consumerism and materialism' and in response the government sought to 1
 2 position Tunisia as a Mediterranean society at the crossroads of cultures – with 2
 3 a marketing campaign orchestrated around the Punic hero of Hannibal and the 3
 4 ancient city of Carthage (Hazbun 2008: 47, 70). 4

5 Second, then, the Mediterranean has commonalities through histories of 5
 6 tourism that are entangled in both defining difference from Europe but also 6
 7 shared cultural origins (Moulakis 2005). As Inglis (2000: 114 and 117) argues 7
 8 for Northern Europeans it has featured largely in the education of elites and been 8
 9 made special through the celebration of a special classical heritage and bond of 9
 10 imputed values. We do not need to go back to the grand tour to find these echoes. 10
 11 Witness Freud's own account of his visit to the Acropolis which outlines the 11
 12 contradictory geography and temporality of past and present, centre and margin 12
 13 for Greece (Crang and Travlou 2001). At a first level his response was shock at 13
 14 encountering the reality of something he had learnt from stories as a child, and had 14
 15 never expected actually to visit. Freud exclaimed: 'So all this really does exist, just 15
 16 as we learnt at school' (Gourgouris 1996: 122). The ruined Acropolis stood as a 16
 17 (material) metonym of the past (imagined, virtual) Hellenic civilization, or created, 17
 18 in Freudian terms, a derealization: 'signifying both the unreality of the experience 18
 19 in the light of the preconception and the evident unreality of the preconception in 19
 20 view of the experience' (Gourgouris 1996: 123). That gap of preconception and 20
 21 experience can be found writ large in the anxiety of Martin Heidegger who long 21
 22 delayed a voyage to actually visit the Greece, with whose classical legacy he had 22
 23 spent a lifetime in dialogue, for fear actual existing Greece might interrupt that 23
 24 conversation. Like Ruskin in Florence, he fretted that the bustle of tourists, their 24
 25 to-ing and fro-ing, and their very zeal to consume the classic sites 'threatened to 25
 26 degrade what was just now the element of our experience into an object ready-at- 26
 27 hand for the viewer' but even he did not dismiss the experience 'No one, however, 27
 28 would like to contest or underestimate the fact that several of them would preserve 28
 29 a serious impression from the temples of the Acropolis for the rest of their journey' 29
 30 (Heidegger 2005: 42 cited in Smith ~~forthcoming~~ 2009). This gap, or fear of a 30
 31 gap of preconception and experience runs in less rarefied veins as well. It is in 31
 32 part, the structure of tourism as a tension of desire, satiation, dissatisfaction and 32
 33 idealized memory. Papers in this collection have shown the magnetic appeal of 33
 34 the Mediterranean runs strongly through from the high brow, through the middle 34
 35 brow to the populist. 35

36 The classical heritage and values of the Mediterranean have featured strongly 36
 37 in southern as well as in northern Europe. There is a long tradition of cultural 37
 38 movements in the Mediterranean region that celebrate the order and beauty of 38
 39 classical culture and claim them in a history of cultural circulation around the 39
 40 middle sea. One such movement is *Noucentisme* in Catalonia in the early 40
 41 20th century that originated largely as a reaction against *Modernisme* (Resina 41
 42 2008). This movement turns to classical culture to reposition Catalonia within 42
 43 the reflected glory of the cultural superiority afforded Mediterranean City states. 43
 44 This stands in contrast to *Modernisme*, which located Catalonia in relation to the 44

1 liberal Northern European Countries. The movement – conceived as a journey to 1
 2 rediscover Classical roots – seeks to translate, literally and metaphorically, the 2
 3 principles of Greek and Roman culture, in particular the idea of civility associated 3
 4 with the Greek Polis, to an emergent country (Resina 2008). Among other things 4
 5 it articulates a new utopian vision of Barcelona, key elements of which are still 5
 6 with us today. The Barcelona model of urban regeneration (Monclús 2003) draws 6
 7 heavily on these antecedents in rejecting the myth of low density north European 7
 8 city in favour of the Mediterranean tradition of high density cities and public 8
 9 spaces – precisely the elements and associations that have made the city a tourist 9
 10 success. 10

11 There is something then of an exceptionalist claim in our stories of the 11
 12 Mediterranean (Horden and Purcell 2006) – though we would hope a modest 12
 13 and defensible one. The Mediterranean is not just any tourist destination; it is 13
 14 the first and, with more than 230 million international tourists a year, the largest 14
 15 destination for mass tourism in the world. As Löfgren points out, ‘if we want to 15
 16 understand the making of package tourism as a giant industry we should start on 16
 17 these shores. The models of tourism emerged here were later exported to other 17
 18 parts of the world, as global tourism expanded’ (Löfgren 1999). So focusing upon 18
 19 the Mediterranean allows us to speak to important and influential forms, while 19
 20 emphasizing the fact that not all mass tourism is the same. Despite the fast pace 20
 21 of globalization, it remains a largely regional phenomenon, with its regional and 21
 22 local idiosyncrasies. We should not forget that the vast majority of international 22
 23 tourism takes place within the same region – Europe, America or Asia – and that 23
 24 the growth of *regional* travel, within the same continent, has clearly outnumbered 24
 25 the growth in truly *global* travel, between continents. 25

26 As we have pointed out in the introduction, we feel uneasy about the way mass 26
 27 tourism has been conceptualized as a free floating phenomenon that is imposed on 27
 28 destinations and has nothing to do with the place where it occurs. Clearly there 28
 29 are elements of deterritorializing processes in mass tourism, for instance in the 29
 30 production of standard international style of hotel complex in the 50s and 60s 30
 31 with the rise of standardized beach tourism, and standardized architectures that 31
 32 become substitutable from place to place (Hazbun 2008: 8) ~~at~~ a regional level 32
 33 ~~it is~~ across the Mediterranean that they end up locked in a downward spiral of 33
 34 price competition due to oversupply. It is at the Mediterranean level there is 34
 35 an emergent form of mass tourism shared across these locations. Recent trends 35
 36 to reterritorialize tourism, by linking it, however instrumentally, to local cultures, 36
 37 creates an overall Mediterranean symbolic economy framing these localisms and 37
 38 expectations. By locating mass tourism in the Mediterranean we wanted to make 38
 39 an exercise of situated thinking, grounding tourist activity within a social and 39
 40 geographical society. Mass tourism is all about place – although not in the narrow 40
 41 organic sense. 41

42 42
 43 43
 44 44
 45 45

1 Mass Tourism in the Med

2
3 We thus conclude this book with a commentary on the Mediterranean in the 3
4 age of mass tourism. By focusing on the *Med*, this book has emphasized the 4
5 significance of mass tourism in shaping and reshaping the region. Mass tourism 5
6 has become the very fabric of the Mediterranean, conferring to the region a new 6
7 economic and social centrality. The movement of tourists and those who make 7
8 their living from them is what today holds together the old Mare Nostrum. Clearly 8
9 then we are responding to Fernand Braudel, whose path breaking study of the 9
10 Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II combined like no one before economic 10
11 and geographical elements, material, social and symbolic dimensions to produce 11
12 what he calls total history. The actors of his work are not kings and generals, but 12
13 the sea, the winds, the trader and the sailor. He focuses on the unspectacular, the 13
14 recurrent patterns of life, and the everyday existence in the Mediterranean, seeking 14
15 'those local, permanent, unchanging and much repeated features which are the 15
16 constants of the Mediterranean history' (1995: 658). Without sharing his totalizing 16
17 aim, the chapters of this book have also tried to reconstruct the complexities of the 17
18 Mediterranean geographies and sensibilities by focusing on the unspectacular, the 18
19 recurrent patterns of life. But whereas Braudel focused on the dawn of modernity 19
20 in the days of Philip II, this book has looked at the formation of the post-modern 20
21 Mediterranean. Reconstructing tourist skills and sensibilities, this book is a (very 21
22 modest) contribution to an archaeology of the Mediterranean present. 22

23 Whatever the changes over the last 400 years, Braudel's characterization of the 23
24 Mediterranean as a space unified by movement still holds true. 'The Mediterranean' 24
25 – Braudel explains – 'has no unity but that created by the movement of men, the 25
26 relationships they imply, and the routes they follow' (1995: 201). There are many 26
27 different mobilities shaping the Mediterranean present, the most important of which 27
28 have to do with tourism: the charter planes linking Frankfurt and Palma, Lanaca 28
29 and London Gatwick; the holiday cruise full of American tourists drifting from 29
30 Barcelona to Marseille, Genoa, Naples, Tunis, Piraeus and finally Istanbul; the 30
31 seasonal migration of workers from the village to the coast and from the southern 31
32 shore to the northern shore; and the dreams of happiness pushing north Europeans 32
33 to travel south every summer and which at the end of the holiday mutate into 33
34 resentment and frustrations in the way back north. Today the flows of tourism 34
35 rather than trade or agriculture constitute the very fabric of the region and create 35
36 tourist places: 36

37
38 Tourist places are hybrid systems of material and mobile objects, technologies 38
39 and social relations that are produced, embodied, imagined, memorized and 39
40 anticipated. Moreover, places are not fixed locations on a map but are better 40
41 viewed like ships, moving around the globe; they travel around as images and 41
42 memories and move closer to global centers or further away. (Mavrič and Urry 42
43 ~~forthcoming~~ 2009) 43
44 44

1 If the immemorial routines of olives, wine and grain in Braudel's characterization 1
 2 have declined then there is instead a new and no less seasonal rhythm to 2
 3 Mediterranean life. The Mediterranean has its own characteristic rhythms. However 3
 4 what defines the calendar is not anymore the grape harvest of the late summer as 4
 5 the arrival of the first charter plane in May. At the heart of it all, there is the 5
 6 seasonality of the climate, which structures the tourist season in a similar way that 6
 7 it structures the agricultural year. The economies of sun, sea and sand are heavily 7
 8 dependent on very particular climatic conditions, which are predominant in July 8
 9 and August. The optimal conditions for mass tourism include absence of rain and 9
 10 wind, maximum day time temperature around 30°C and the optimal 24 hour mean 10
 11 temperature around 24°C (Amelund and Viner 2006). The sun continues to shape 11
 12 the economic and social life of the Mediterranean. The rhythms and materials of 12
 13 mass tourism give coherence to the Mediterranean present and that is producing a 13
 14 sense of déjà vu, with Braudel's observation that: 'In the sixteenth century, a native 14
 15 of the Mediterranean, wherever he might come from, would never feel out of place 15
 16 in any part of the sea' (1995:178). Despite the deep political, cultural and religious 16
 17 divisions, the same is true today. Tourism cultures are fuelling these commonalities 17
 18 building on shared and contested histories so that Essaouira in Morocco so echoes 18
 19 French colonial styles that Place Moulay El Hassan, can be written up, in a travel 19
 20 guide as a large square fringed with bars and cafes serving Italian ice cream and 20
 21 cappuccinos, 'that would not be out of place in southern Europe' (Guardian 5 June 21
 22 2006). Wherever we go in Spain, in Tunis, in Cyprus or in Greece, in Turkey, we 22
 23 will find to the point of obsession the same hotels, the same golf courses, the same 23
 24 marinas, the same low quality foods, the same disputes for sun beds, the same 1.5 24
 25 litre plastic bottles of still water buried in the sand, the same smell of sun cream. 25
 26 The Mediterranean and its harbours lost a few centuries ago the privileged 26
 27 commercial position that enjoyed at the dawn of modernity. With the emergence 27
 28 the northern European powers, the consolidation of the world trade routes and the 28
 29 decline of medieval city states, the Mediterranean ceased to be the axes of western 29
 30 civilization and economy to become its southern periphery. Such marginal and 30
 31 peripheral identity still heavily conditions the Mediterranean present. The 'Mare 31
 32 Nostrum' of the Romans is today a major dividing line in the world, separating 32
 33 Europe and Africa and Asia, the Christian, the Muslim and the Jewish world, 33
 34 the first and the third world that produce problems of governance. It is precisely 34
 35 these problems that attract the attention of researchers with an interest in the 35
 36 Mediterranean. As Gillespie and Martin point out 'Researches more commonly are 36
 37 drawn into learning about the area by the issues that are presented as 'problems' 37
 38 in need of policy solutions' (2006: 152). Mediterranean studies are dominated by 38
 39 the security-driven agenda of international relations. At the centre of this agenda 39
 40 there is the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership or Barcelona Process, which started 40
 41 in 1995 with the Barcelona Euro-Mediterranean Conference. This process is a 41
 42 framework of bilateral and multilateral relations led by the European Union 42
 43 that promotes peace stability, cooperation and free trade in the newly reminted and 43
 44 recast 'Mediterranean region' (Liotta 2005). 44

45

1 Rather than challenging this peripheral identity of the Mediterranean, the 1
 2 dominant perspectives on mass tourism have tended to reinforce its marginality. 2
 3 Mass tourism has been conceived as an agent of domination that transforms less 3
 4 developed regions into peripheries of the industrialized richer areas. At its starkest 4
 5 Frantz Fanon turned the 'industry into a metaphor for the brothelization of the 5
 6 Third World at the hands of leisure imperialists' (Hazbun 2008: 5). This line of 6
 7 thought imbues for example the influential work of Turner and Ash who developed 7
 8 the notion of pleasure periphery back in the 1970s. 'Today it is the Nomads of 8
 9 Affluence, coming from the new Constantinople – cities like New York, London, 9
 10 Hamburg or Tokyo – who are creating a newly dependent, social and geographical 10
 11 realm: The Pleasure Periphery' (1975: 1). The Mediterranean is one, if not the 11
 12 most important one of these pleasures peripheries which are geographically 12
 13 conceived 'as the tourist belt which surrounds the great industrialized zones of 13
 14 the world. Normally it lies some two to four hours' flying distance from the big 14
 15 urban centres, sometimes to the west and east, but generally toward the equator 15
 16 and the sun' (1975: 1-2). In this scheme of thought mass tourists are described as 16
 17 'the Barbarians of our Age of Leisure, the Golden Hordes swamping less dynamic 17
 18 societies. Similar views can be found elsewhere. 18

19 Turner and Ash's view of the Mediterranean is not very different from the 19
 20 perspective of international relations. In both cases the Mediterranean is conceived 20
 21 as a conflicting region at the edge of Europe, swamped either by civil wars or by 21
 22 the barbarism of tourists, a region that has no logic of its own. The defining element 22
 23 of the region is the relation of dependency with richer and more powerful areas 23
 24 of northern Europe. The European Union policy language of 'lagging regions' 24
 25 has reinforced the sense of social temporality and discourse of modernization that 25
 26 has exoticized the Mediterranean. This metaphor of dependency has proved very 26
 27 popular in Mediterranean itself not least because it justifies European investment 27
 28 and exempts tourist regions from their responsibilities for the situation. It is always 28
 29 easier to blame foreigners. 29

30 We remain unconvinced about the adequacy of metaphors of marginality and 30
 31 dependency in the case of mass Mediterranean tourism. Instead of explaining its 31
 32 functioning, these metaphors reinforce the peripheral identity of the Mediterranean, 32
 33 establishing a hierarchical value system that denies the modernizing capacity of 33
 34 mass tourism. Romanticizing a bygone era dominated by organic communities, the 34
 35 main focus of these metaphors is on what has been lost. There is no value placed on 35
 36 the modern Mediterranean, unless it remains fixed in a pre-modern era. Conveying 36
 37 a rather paternalistic attitude, the notion of dependency attributes a passive and 37
 38 secondary role to the Mediterranean. It also obfuscates precisely the production of 38
 39 that timeless and static sense of the past. Thus, for instance, it omits the folkloric 39
 40 definitions of rustic types in setting apart and framing the contemporary Greek 40
 41 peasantry for the viewer as exemplars of Mediterranean types (Tzanelli 2003), 41
 42 and indeed the creation of timeless exotic types for the metropolitan north framed 42
 43 in exhibitions such as *L'Exposition Coloniale Internationale de Paris* (1931) 43
 44 where Marechal Lyautey created almost a suburb of Paris which restaged the 44

1 colonial policy of separating modern metropolitan styles from ‘native’ styles for 1
2 the pavilions of the colonies, ~~such as the~~ Tunisian souks (Çelik and Kinney 1990, 2
3 Morton 1998). In that separation it mirrored the policy on the ground of ~~Marechal~~ 3
4 Lyautey ~~during his service~~ as governor of Morocco, where his stated aim was: 4
5 5
6 to conserve in Morocco Beauty – [...] Nothing has been more deadly to the 6
7 originality and the charm of Algerian cities, of so many oriental cities, that 7
8 their penetration by modern European installations [...] The preservation of the 8
9 native towns is not only a question of aesthetic satisfaction [...] but a duty of the 9
10 state. Since the development [...] of tourism on a large scale, the preservation 10
11 of the beauty of the country has taken on an economic interest of the first order 11
12 (Lyautey 1927 cited in Minca 2006: 162) 12
13 13
14 Lyautey’s *politique indigène* intended that ‘indigenous peoples’ should ‘evolve in 14
15 autonomous fashion’, by ‘keeping everyone in his proper place, appropriate to his 15
16 role in society’ (Rabinow 1989). It built new ‘European’ cities alongside preserved 16
17 and fixed ‘indigenous’ Medinas (Çelik 1997). 17
18 The timeless cultures of the Mediterranean then have been reinvented through 18
19 the actions of various travellers and representations, and almost always under the 19
20 sign of their own disappearance, as when Edith Wharton recounts her arrival in 20
21 Lyautey’s Marrakech: 21
22 22
23 the strange survival of mediaeval life, of a life contemporary with the crusaders, 23
24 with Saladin, even with the great days of the Caliphate of Bagdad, which now 24
25 greets the astonished traveller, [but which] will gradually disappear [...] since 25
26 despite] the incessant efforts of the present French administration to preserve the 26
27 old monuments of Morocco from injury, and her native arts and industries from 27
28 the corruption of European bad taste, the impression of mystery and remoteness 28
29 which the country now produces must inevitably vanish with the approach of the 29
30 ‘Circular Ticket’ (Wharton 1920: ix-x) 30
31 31
32 Here then we see the production of the timeless, its celebration and also a fear that 32
33 a new world of mass mobility will de-distantiated the Mediterranean making it too 33
34 close, too accessible and too frankly ordinary. Remarkably she echoes the fears 34
35 of Bensusan’s elegiac travelogue from twenty years earlier which feared that as 35
36 ‘a result of French pacific penetration, flying railway trains loaded with tourists, 36
37 guide-book in hand and camera at the ready, will pierce the secret places of the 37
38 land’ (Bensusan 1904: 77). The corrupting presence of tourism is a continual theme 38
39 in narratives that see the Mediterranean as comprising fixed non-modern cultures 39
40 that are to be eroded by mass tourism. Yet a-tourism that continues to trade upon 40
41 those very identities and essentialized images when *Conde Naste* travel magazine 41
42 in 2005 still celebrated a Marrakech where ‘Time has come to a standstill in this 42
43 enchanting city’ and the city presents ‘the chaotic surface of noisy automobiles, 43
44 44
45

1 mopeds, donkey carts' and a people outside of modernity 'living their days much 1
2 as their ancestors did'. 2

3 Mass tourism challenges the current marginality of the Mediterranean within 3
4 the world stage through creating new cultures and mass cultural phenomena. The 4
5 millions of *Golden Hordes* that invade every summer the Mediterranean beaches 5
6 have given a new economic and social centrality to the region. With all its social 6
7 unbalances and negative environmental effects, mass tourism has demonstrated 7
8 to be a formidable engine for economic development and cultural change, 8
9 transforming derelict economies. Instead of seeing it as a past world corrupted by 9
10 hordes we see new social and economic formations embracing North and South. 10
11 There are elements of Fordist mass leisure, alongside atavistic reimaginings of 11
12 petty capitalism, niche marketing and flexible specialization (Torres 2002) and 12
13 these developments are occurring not against traditional economies or against 13
14 mass tourism but as part of densely variegated landscape of new social forms 14
15 created through tourism. 15

16 Contrary to what most people think, this process has been driven from the south 16
17 as much as from the north. There is a need to de-romanticize the academic view on 17
18 the Mediterranean and mass tourism and stop thinking this region in melancholic- 18
19 touristic- terms as yet another example of a lost paradise invaded by flocks of 19
20 tourists. We need to take seriously what is banal, fun and depthless, we need to 20
21 examine the production of new bodies, their capacities and knowledges. What we 21
22 ~~are up to~~ here is not an invasion or a loss but the transformation of play and leisure 22
23 into one of the stronger ~~role~~ in our culture, and it interplay with geographical 23
24 identity. It is time to put mass tourism and the Mediterranean in relation to European 24
25 modernities and post-modernities as part of the new economic and social modes of 25
26 organization. The hypermodern and the antique in the Mediterranean jostle each 26
27 other cheek by jowl (Leontidou 1993). Here then there will be the revalorization of 27
28 tradition, and its political and commercial contestation and appropriation (Herzfeld 28
29 1991, Williams and Papamichael 1995). There will be the performance of the fixed 29
30 and timeless imaginary of the Mediterranean. There will be the immobilization of 30
31 some people, and the mobilization of others – rich and poor. 31
32 32
33 33

34 **Many Tourisms, Many Mediterraneans** 34

35 35
36 As well as conferring a new centrality to the Mediterranean, mass tourism has 36
37 introduced new dimensions to its geographical identity, complicating the picture 37
38 of the region with yet another set of layers. Mass tourism has introduced a logic 38
39 excess, hedonism and luxury, as well as an appreciation for culture, history and 39
40 heritage. With an increasing number of people experiencing the Mediterranean 40
41 through practices of consumption and leisure, these logics have become closely 41
42 associated with the region. However these new logics have not replaced the old 42
43 ones. The coexistence of multiple logics often unrelated to each other is a defining 43
44 feature of the Mediterranean present. A political logic of division and conflict coexist 44

1 with the bio-political logic of play, fun and entertainment that do not understand 1
 2 the reasons of conflict. The Mediterranean of those who dwell permanently as 2
 3 residents sits side by side with the Mediterranean of fleeting tourists dwelling- 3
 4 in-mobilities. The striated space of the thwarted and obstructed movements of 4
 5 migrants, is the same as the smoothed flows of tourists. The indigene, the returnee 5
 6 and the resident tourist may all seek traditional styles of housing, the traditional 6
 7 *riad* (courtyard house) may be preserved because 40 percent of the Medina of 7
 8 Marrakech becomes foreign owned. The Mediterranean in the age of mass tourism 8
 9 is an elusive region marked by contradiction and complexity. It is simultaneously 9
 10 made of play and work, fun and grief, conflict and feast, mobility and immobility, 10
 11 big yachts and the small *pateras*, tourists and illegal migrants. It does not allow 11
 12 a one-dimensional reductive view. In sharp contrast with the dominant image of 12
 13 the med, which tends to emphasize a single facet of the region, this book has 13
 14 tried to reveal a kaleidoscopic picture with multiple angles and dimensions. 14
 15 Capturing its complexity and its fluidity is the main challenge of any book about 15
 16 the Mediterranean. 16

17 Mass tourism has not created a homogenous region. Pleasures have differed 17
 18 and in general social classes have drawn apart as 'capitalism orders these divisions 18
 19 of labour, of pleasure and of pocket' (Inglis 2000: 110). There are many tensions 19
 20 underpinning Mediterranean tourism, the most significant of which is perhaps 20
 21 between culture and hedonism. On the one hand Mediterranean tourism is 21
 22 educative, aesthetic, solitary and formal. A number of scholars in this book explore 22
 23 this dimension, including Haldrup, Crang and Travlou. Exploring the birthplace 23
 24 of the old civilizations and engaging with the origins of western culture have been 24
 25 major driving forces of tourism development. The Mediterranean is the place of 25
 26 the Ancient Rome, the Greek temples, the cities of the Italian Renaissance and the 26
 27 Egypt of the Pharaohs, ~~of all~~ which pull together extraordinary interest. As Inglis 27
 28 points out 'Our Mediterranean associations take us rather nearer to the mysterious 28
 29 origins of civilization that one would expect from the genial lubricity of Club 29
 30 Med' (2000: 116). The origin of this form of tourism, which Urbain (2003: ix) 30
 31 identifies with the character of Phileas Fogg, has to be found in the grand tour. 31
 32 This journey was meant to finish the education of the upper classes of Britain in 32
 33 the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with a first hand knowledge of classical 33
 34 culture, renaissance and the exotic otherness of the south. However there is another 34
 35 face of Mediterranean tourism, which is increasingly ~~more~~ prominent today but it is 35
 36 not something new. Mediterranean tourism is also gregarious, hedonistic, liberated 36
 37 and unhistorical. Enjoying, having fun and getting away from it all have ~~been also~~ 37
 38 a driving force of tourism, ~~already~~ in the time of the grand tour. This second form 38
 39 of tourism corresponds with the fictional character of Robinson Crusoe (Löfgren 39
 40 1999: 9, Urbain 2003: 14-20) and is evident in the chapters of Pau Obrador, Karen 40
 41 O'Reilly and Javier Caletrio. 41

42 Intimately linked with this duality, there is the tension between the familiar 42
 43 and the exotic dimensions of the Mediterranean. For some the Mediterranean is 43
 44 a world of habits and routines, a place of dwelling and return. This *anti-touristic* 44
 45

1 dimension is visible in the villas of D nia, the family hotels in Menorca and 1
 2 the retiring apartment in Torremolinos, which offer a promise of simplicity and 2
 3 happiness and the recreation of familiar landscapes with its social networks. For 3
 4 many other people, including the Danish tourist Haldrup describes in his chapter, 4
 5 the Mediterranean continues to be an exotic destination full of magic wonders, 5
 6 mysterious cultures and lost civilizations, a place that even functions as a gateway 6
 7 to the east. The Mediterranean of mass tourism emerges as a place of contradiction, 7
 8 a place of culture, but also of swimming and sunbathing; it is a place to discover 8
 9 the origins of civilization but also for relaxing from the constraints of urban stress; 9
 10 it is today still an educative destination but one where that learning encompasses 10
 11 the realms of romance and sexual adventure. 11

12 We do not know what the future of the Mediterranean holds, whether mass 12
 13 tourism will continue to shape so intensively the Mediterranean way of life. At 13
 14 the moment, there is no sign pointing to the decline of mass tourism, all evidence 14
 15 suggest its continuous expansion. For sure there will be changes and fluctuations 15
 16 so there will not be one simple model of mass tourism, but the fusion of forms 16
 17 – from neotribal youth cultures, to democratized cultural tourism, to seasonal 17
 18 and retirement migrations, alongside the forms of provision for these from new 18
 19 urbanaciones, leisure facilities, local traders and large corporations. The plural 19
 20 landscape of touristic activities makes us conclude that whatever happens the 20
 21 Mediterranean will continue to be an elusive region marked by contradiction and 21
 22 complexity, in which multiple logics coexist. 22

23 There are also many uncertainties clouding mass Mediterranean tourism. First, 23
 24 least often voiced in the industry but perhaps most profound affects the fundamental 24
 25 and unchanging givens – the climate and environment. Climate change, and 25
 26 concern over it, might alter the currently dominant tourist sensibilities. A positive 26
 27 attitude towards sunlight, swimming and warm climates constitutes the basis of 27
 28 the Mediterranean tourism today. As Carter points out, ‘the sun unproblematically 28
 29 condenses and signifies the essence of modern travel and sensuous pleasure’ (2007: 29
 30 3). The predicted changed in the Mediterranean climate as well as the growing 30
 31 medical concerns about sun exposure introduce a high degree of uncertainty about 31
 32 these tourist sensibilities. We cannot avoid wondering about the reaction of mass 32
 33 tourism to changing climatic conditions that according to Amelund and Viner 33
 34 (2006) will make Mediterranean summers increasingly unbearable or about the 34
 35 effects on mass tourism of the changing social and medical attitudes towards the 35
 36 sun, which questions the positive association between health and sunlight. The 36
 37 dependency of mass Mediterranean tourism on such particular climatic conditions, 37
 38 so long taken for granted, and sensibilities about climate and travel is the perhaps 38
 39 its all too obvious Achilles heel. 39

40 Second, the generalization of a touristic stance in Western Europe societies 40
 41 constitutes another major uncertainty for Mediterranean tourism, which for a 41
 42 long time has relied upon a sense of the different and the unusual. The possibility 42
 43 of escaping the rigid constraints of everyday life in industrial societies has been 43
 44 a key attraction of Mediterranean holidays, in particular of more hedonistic 44

1 destinations such as Eivissa and Mykonos. Today the contrast between touristic 1
 2 and non-tourist societies is blurring and the everyday life in the west is becoming 2
 3 increasingly indistinguishable from the touristic world. 'Tourism is no longer a 3
 4 specialist consumer product or a mode of consumption' (2001: 6) explain Crang 4
 5 and Franklin. These processes of de-differentiation challenge a basic principle of 5
 6 Mediterranean tourism. What is the point of travelling to Mallorca for a stag do 6
 7 when the night life in Newcastle or Hamburg can be as good, or even better? What 7
 8 if the Mediterranean appeals for a weekend break or a golf break as much as a 8
 9 Northern city? What happens when the distance separating the holiday region and 9
 10 the home breaks down? A destination map of a low cost airline offers a glimpse 10
 11 to the future. These companies are not just connecting northern European cities 11
 12 with the Mediterranean resort, as the charter companies they are replacing used 12
 13 to do, Low cost airlines are connecting Europe in all directions – suggesting a 13
 14 multiplication of tourist destination and sensibilities. The list of uncertainties does 14
 15 not finish here. The desperately constraining temporality of the resort lifecycle 15
 16 starts to give way to plural histories and developments with these plural scales 16
 17 and logics. When demands are multiple and fragmented we may expect patterns 17
 18 of efflorescence and retrenchment in more complex sequences. We wonder as 18
 19 well about the possible clashes between the political and bio-political logics 19
 20 underpinning the Mediterranean present. The opposed nature of these logics were 20
 21 graphically evident the summer of 2007 when news bulletins showed images of 21
 22 exhausted illegal migrants arriving in small boats to the beaches of the Canary 22
 23 Islands at the peak of high season. To what extent mass tourism can continue 23
 24 to be oblivious to the huge political divisions of the Mediterranean? Can such 24
 25 contradictory logics continue to coexist so easily? And of course we wonder also 25
 26 about the excessive character of mass tourism. Like contemporary economic 26
 27 crises, the limits of mass tourism are not related with shortage but of excess, with 27
 28 excess of speculation, excess of hedonism, excess of drugs and alcohol, excess of 28
 29 pollution and water consumption. 29
 30
 31

32 References 32

- 33
 34 Abulafia, D. 2005. Mediterraneans, in *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, edited by 34
 35 W.V. Harris. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 64-93. 35
 36 Albera, D. 2006. Anthropology of the Mediterranean: between crisis and renewal. 36
 37 *History and Anthropology*, 17(2), 109-33. 37
 38 Amelung, B. and Viner, D. 2006. Mediterranean tourism: exploring the future with 38
 39 the tourism climatic index. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 14(4), 349-66. 39
 40 Bensusan, S.L. 1904. *Morocco: Painted by A.S. Forrest*. London: Adam and 40
 41 Charles Black. 41
 42 Bentley, J.H. 1999. Sea and ocean basins as frameworks of historical analysis. 42
 43 *Geographical Review*, 89(2), 215-24. 43
 44
 45

- 1 Boer, P.D., and Bugge, O. 1995. *The History of the Idea of Europe*. London: 1
2 Routledge. 2
- 3 Braudel, F. 1995. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of 3
4 Philip II*. 2nd Rev Edition. Berkeley: University of California Press. 4
- 5 Carter, S., 2007. *Rise and Shine: Sunlight, Technology and Health*. Oxford: Berg 5
6 Publishers. 6
- 7 Çelik, Z. 1997. *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French 7
8 Rule*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. 8
- 9 Çelik, Z., and Kinney, L. 1990. Ethnography and exhibitionism at the Expositions 9
10 Universelle. *Assemblage*, 13, 34-59. 10
- 11 Communities and Local Government Committee, Second Report of Session 2006- 11
12 07, *Coastal Towns*, HC 351: HMSO 12
- 13 Cooke, M. 1999. Mediterranean thinking: from Netizen to Medizen. *Geographical 13
14 Review*, 89(2), 290-300. 14
- 15 Crang, M. 1998. *Cultural Geography*. London: Routledge. 15
- 16 Crang, M. and Franklin, A. 2001. The trouble with tourism and travel theory. 16
17 *Tourist Studies*, 1(1), 5-22. 17
- 18 Crang, M., and Travlou, P. 2001. City and topologies of memory. *Environment and 18
19 Planning D: Society and Space*, 19, 161-177. 19
- 20 Davison, R. 2000. Mythologizing the Mediterranean: the case of Albert Camus. 20
21 *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 10(1-2), 77-92. 21
- 22 Gillespie, R. and Martín, I. 2006. Researching the Mediterranean and the Middle 22
23 East in the United Kingdom, Spain and Europe: present challenges and future 23
24 initiatives, in *Researching the Mediterranean*, edited by R. Gillespie, and I. 24
25 Martín. Madrid: British Council with IEMed and Fundació CIDOB, 151 -75. 25
- 26 Gilroy, P. 1993. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. 26
27 Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press. 27
- 28 Gourgouris, S. 1996. *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization and the 28
29 Institution of Modern Greece*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 29
- 30 Gregory, D. 2001. Colonial nostalgia and cultures of travel: spaces of constructed 30
31 visibility in Egypt, in *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global 31
32 Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism*, edited by N. AlSayyad. 32
33 London: Routledge, 111-151. 33
- 34 Gregory, D. 2003. Emperors of the gaze: photographic practices and productions 34
35 of space in Egypt, 1839-1914, in *Picturing Place: Photography and the 35
36 Geographical Imagination*, edited by J. Ryan and J. Schwartz. London: 36
37 I.B.Tauris, 195-225. 37
- 38 Hazbun, W. 2008. *Beaches, Ruins, Resorts: The Politics of Tourism in the Arab 38
39 World*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 39
- 40 Herzfeld, M. 1991. *A Place in History: Social and Monumental Time in a Cretan 40
41 Town*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press. 41
- 42 Herzfeld, M. 2005. Practical Mediterraneanism: excuses for everything, from 42
43 epistemology to eating, in *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, edited by W. V. 43
44 Harris, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 45-63. 44

- 1 Horden, P. 2005. Mediterranean excuses: Historical writing on the Mediterranean 1
2 since Braudel. *History and Anthropology*, 16(1), 25-30. 2
- 3 Horden, P. and N. Purcell. 2006. The Mediterranean and 'the New Thalassology'. 3
4 *American Historical Review*, (June), 722-40. 4
- 5 Inglis, F. 2000. *The Delicious History of the Holiday*. London: Routledge. 5
- 6 Jacquemet, M. 1999. From the Atlas to the Alps: chronicle of a Moroccan 6
7 migration, in *Cities and Citizenship*, edited by J. Holston. Durham, NC: Duke 7
8 University Press, 242-53. 8
- 9 Lazzaridis, G. and Wickens, E. 1999. 'Us' and the 'Others': ethnic minorities in 9
10 Greece. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(3), 632-55. 10
- 11 Leontidou, L. 1993. Postmodernism and the city - Mediterranean versions. *Urban* 11
12 *Studies*, 30(6), 949-965. 12
- 13 Linebaugh, P. and Rediker, M.B. 2000. *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves,* 13
14 *Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*. London: 14
15 Verso. 15
- 16 Liotta, P.H. 2005. Imagining Europe: symbolic geography and the future. 16
17 *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 16(3), 67-85. 17
- 18 Löfgren, O. 1999. *On Holiday: a History of Vacationing*. Berkeley, CA: University 18
19 of California Press. 19
- 20 Mavrič, M., and Urry, J. ~~Forthcoming~~ 2009. Tourism studies and the new mobilities 20
21 paradigm (NMP), in *Handbook of Tourism Studies*, edited by T. Jamal and M. 21
22 Robinson. London: Sage. 22
- 23 Minca, C. 2006. Re-inventing the 'Square': postcolonial geographies and tourist 23
24 narratives in Jamaa el Fna, Marrakech, in *Travels in Paradox: Remapping* 24
25 *Tourism*, edited by C. Minca and T. Oakes. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield 25
26 Publishers, 155-84. 26
- 27 Mitchell, J.P. 2002. Modernity and the Mediterranean. *Journal of Mediterranean* 27
28 *Studies*, 12(1), 1-23. 28
- 29 Monclús, F.J. 2003. The Barcelona model: and an original formula? From 29
30 reconstruction to strategic urban projects (1979-2004). *Planning Perspectives*, 30
31 18(4), 399-421. 31
- 32 Morton, P. A. 1998. National and colonial: The Musée des Colonies at the Colonial 32
33 Exposition, Paris, 1931. *The Art Bulletin*, 80(2), 357-377. 33
- 34 Moulakis, A. 2005. The Mediterranean region: reality, delusion, or Euro- 34
35 Mediterranean project? *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 16(2), 11-38. 35
- 36 Phillips, R. 1999. Writing travel and mapping sexuality: Richard Burton's Sotadic 36
37 Zone, in *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, edited by J. Duncan and 37
38 D. Gregory. London: Routledge, 70-91. 38
- 39 Rabinow, P. 1989. *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*. 39
40 Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press. 40
- 41 Resina, J.R. 2008. *Barcelona's Vocation of Modernity*, Staford, CA: Stanford 41
42 University Press. 42
- 43 Shore, C. 1995. Anthropology, literature, and the problem of Mediterranean 43
44 identity. *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 5(1), 1-13. 44
45

- 1 Smith, M. ~~forthcoming~~ 2009. Ethical perspectives: exploring the ethical landscape 1
- 2 of tourism, in *The Handbook of Tourism Studies*, edited by T. Jamal and M. 2
- 3 Robinson. London: Sage. 3
- 4 Torres, R. 2002. Cancun's tourism development from a Fordist spectrum of 4
- 5 analysis. *Tourist Studies*, 2(1), 87-116. 5
- 6 Turner, L. and Ash, J. 1975. *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the 6*
- 7 *Pleasure Periphery*. London: Constable. 7
- 8 Tzanelli, R. 2003. 'Casting' the Neohellenic 'Other': Tourism, the culture industry 8
- 9 and contemporary Orientalism in 'Captain Corelli's Mandolin' (2001). *Journal 9*
- 10 *of Consumer Culture*, 3(2), 217-44. 10
- 11 Urbain, J.D. 2003. *At the Beach*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 11
- 12 Waitt, G. and Markwell, K. 2006. *Gay Tourism: Culture and Context*. New York: 12
- 13 Haworth Hospitality Press. 13
- 14 Wharton, E. 1920. *In Morocco*. Illustrated Edition. New York: Charles Scribner 14
- 15 and Sons. 15
- 16 Williams, W., and Papamichael, E.M. 1995. Tourism and tradition: local control 16
- 17 versus outside interests in Greece, in *International Tourism: Identity and 17*
- 18 *Change*, edited by M.F. Lanfant, J. Allcock and E. Bruner. London: Sage, 127- 18
- 19 142. 19
- 20 20
- 21 21
- 22 22
- 23 23
- 24 24
- 25 25
- 26 26
- 27 27
- 28 28
- 29 29
- 30 30
- 31 31
- 32 32
- 33 33
- 34 34
- 35 35
- 36 36
- 37 37
- 38 38
- 39 39
- 40 40
- 41 41
- 42 42
- 43 43
- 44 44